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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

THE POPULAR "CHRISTIANITY" OF THE UNITED STATES ILLUSTRATED.

BY THE REV. GARDINER SPRING, D.D.

[The Rev. GARDINER SPRING, D.D., of the Brick Presbyterian Church (Old School) in New York, now in the fiftieth year of his pastorate, and, among all the so-called Evangelical denominations, held in high esteem for soundness of doctrine and for piety, is probably as fair a representative of the spirit and character of that which passes current in the United States as Christianity as it would be possible to find. Even the orthodox religious papers which claim to be anti-slavery (of which *The Independent* may be taken as the most prominent example), while girding at Dr. Cheever in a way that reveals the bitterness of their hostility toward him, never lose an opportunity to eulogize Dr. Spring as a bright and shining light on the walls of the American Zion, and one of the very best specimens of a religious teacher to be found in all the land. We therefore propose to exhibit the character of American Christianity, as it stands revealed in the teachings of this eminent octogenarian divine. In the great struggle of 1850, when the Fugitive Slave law had been enacted by corrupt politicians at Washington, Dr. Spring stood forth prominently among those who, in the name of Christ, sought to reconcile the reluctant conscience of the North to that infamous statute. We present extracts from a discourse preached by him at that time and subsequently printed in the second volume (p. 309) of his work, entitled, "First Things: a Series of Lectures on the Great Facts and Moral Lessons First Revealed to Mankind." The title of the discourse is, "The First Rebellion in the Hebrew Commonwealth," but the substance of it was originally preached as a Thanksgiving discourse, in 1850, and reported in *The Journal of Commerce* under the title, "The Supremacy of the Laws."—ED. STANDARD.]

WE have reached a crisis of deep interest in the history of these States. The time has come which the friends of law and order have often predicted, in which all other distinctions ought to be lost sight of, and the people of this land arrange themselves as the friends or the enemies of good government, in accordance with their honest purpose to support or not to support the Constitution. This is now the great test of every man's political principles.

Those who administer the government have been called to their places of trust by the voice of the people. Whatever department they occupy, they are those in whom the majority of the nation are united, and to whom the nation has pledged its support. They have been called to this responsibility under circumstances which have put to the test both their moral and political integrity. And it has been a cheering spectacle, to see men venerable for age, talent, and character; men separated by rivers and mountains; men long distinguished by strong differences of political opinion, and accustomed to the arena of political chivalry; simultaneously and promptly throwing down their gloves before the common enemy, and putting their lances at rest in defence of the Commonwealth. Never, since the eventful day on which our independence of the mother country was declared, has it been more obvious than during the struggle of the year 1850, that sound wisdom and discretion, and sweet and heavenly charity—that guardian angel of our Union—was hovering, though sometimes with fluttering wings, over our honored Capitol. Those there were who would fain have sundered the bonds which hold together these confederated States, even at the sacrifice of that charter of our hopes which they had sworn to maintain; and those there were, the representatives of the nation, who remembered the struggle and the compact of our fathers, and who, filled with apprehension for the still more bitter struggles of their children, proved themselves true to their oaths, true to the Constitution, and true to the country. And God prospered the right.

It often happens that, in the administration of human governments, a choice of evils is all that is left to human wisdom. Of the statute of the last Congress in regard to *fugitive slaves*, perhaps it does not become me to speak. It is the proper business of those "learned in the law," to interpret its provisions and decide on the question of its constitutionality. While I am free to confess that it is a law capable of great abuse in the hands of a partial and corrupt Court, with the light I have, I do not perceive that it transcends the constitutional powers of the National Legislature, nor am I now prepared to impugn its rectitude or its wisdom, or to unite with those who defame its authors. Of this one thing I am convinced, that in the circumstances in which the providence of God placed them, with the Constitution, on the one hand, sanctioning and protecting the rights of the slaveholding States, and the reasonable demand of those States that these rights should be protected; and, on the other hand, the preservation of our Union as a Federal Government, and the accession of new States, free from the evils of domestic slavery—they did as their fathers had done, the best that was left to human wisdom to accomplish; the best they could for the master and the slave, for the North and the South, for the country and for the world.

The morality of this law is supposed to depend upon the question, *whether slavery is itself a sin.* The subject does not thus present itself to my own mind. Let it be assumed, for the sake of the argument, that, in every form and degree, slavery *is* a sin against God. Human laws allow of sin; they must allow it, or adopt a system of perfect legislation, and one that requires *all* that is right and forbids *all* that is wrong. But this is not the object nor the proper business of human laws; this is the high prerogative of the divine law, and the divine law alone; and the most that human laws can do, after having adopted those rules of conduct which a sound policy suggests, is to turn the transgressors of the divine law over to their responsibility to the Supreme Lawgiver. Why the sin of slavery should embarrass human legislation more than other sins, remains to be shown. What if there are States in this Union which are allowed by law to open the theatre on the Lord's day, or which legalize gambling, or incest, or polygamy; has the general government any official or authoritative concern in the matter? Such laws are sin; but it does not belong to the general government to apply the remedy; it is an affair of their own; it lies between them and the Great Lawgiver, nor will he hold them guiltless.

But ought we not, in all fairness, to look at the other part of the alternative? Is it so clear a truth that slavery *is a sin?* That it is a great *political evil*, few deny; that the relation between the master and the slave may be, and often is, so abused as to stamp the master's conduct with sin and infamy, will not be called in question. But this does not prove that this relation, apart from all abuses and oppression and unkindness, is sinful. There was no sin in Abraham's being a slaveholder; for if there had been, God would not have directed him to put the seal of his covenant upon his slaves, and train them up in his fear. There was no sin in the Jews being slaveholders; else would the moral law never have legislated on the subject of slavery.

It is not a little surprising to see how the men "of one idea" will allow themselves to be carried away by their idol thought. It does not require much to make that man an infidel, who permits his confidence in the Sacred Scriptures to be shaken by the fact that they nowhere condemn slavery as sinful. That they do not so regard it every fair mind must concede. There is no getting away from this fact, if there were nothing that decides it besides Paul's Epistle to Philemon. Onesimus was a fugitive slave, who ran away from Colosse to Rome, at that time the capital of the world, and the resort of refugees from almost all lands. Here he became a converted man under the preaching of Paul. He had been an unprofitable servant, but was now profitable to Paul, and would be equally profitable to his master. Paul might have retained him, had he not been mindful that he was bound to "render every man his due." Onesimus was still a slave, though he had become a Christian man. He was bound by that great law of Christianity, "Servants be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward;" with "good will doing service, knowing that whatsoever good thing a man doeth, the same shall receive of the Lord, *whether* bond or free." This apostle was very far from teaching the doctrine that Christianity was inconsistent with slavery, and that, from the hour in which a man becomes a Christian, his mission is to revolutionize the established principles of social order, and break down the distinctions between the master and the slave. He therefore required Onesimus to return to his master, and, by repairing the evils of his former negligence, to conduct himself as a faithful servant. And Onesimus did so. He put into practice the precept, "Let every man *abide* in the same calling in which he was called. Art thou called being a servant? Care not for it; for he that is called in the Lord, being a *slave*, is the Lord's *freeman*."

Paul had a tender regard for this fugitive; he loved him as one of the favored few whom he had begotten in his bonds. He calls him *his son;* and on his part, Onesimus appears to be no less attached to Paul as his spiritual father. Paul, no doubt, would like to have retained him near his own person, that he might have administered to his wants during his tedious captivity, and stood by him at the end of his course. Indeed, he says as much, when he writes, "Whom I would have retained with me, that he might have ministered unto me in the bonds of the gospel." But he saw that this would have been wrong. His circumstances were peculiar, and he determined to set an example to the Church at Colosse, and to the Church to the end of the world. What was the duty of a Christian man under such circumstances? What if he had retained him? What conclusions would have been drawn from this fact at the present day? And what conclusions ought we to draw from it, now we know that he did not retain him? Let not this lesson be lost upon us. Let this Epistle to Philemon be *read*, and let those who read it tell us why it forms a part of the Sacred Volume. It inculcates no Christian doctrine; it has no object but to enforce the lesson that Christianity is nicely delicate in refraining from all interference in the rights of others. It seems to us, that one reason why God converted Onesimus was, that he might be thus sent back to his master a reformed man, and thus hand down the truth that Christianity, however much it may meliorate the condition of the slave, does not interfere with, but distinctly recognizes the rights of the master. It is perfectly obvious that Onesimus was the slave of Philemon.

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Modern Abolitionists would have branded Paul as a "slave-catcher." But there his character stands in its high and unsullied integrity and loveliness; not as the advocate and friend of Roman slavery, but as the friend of law and good government. He was far from attempting to revolutionize the established principles of social order. If there were evils in the Roman empire, the way in which he desired to remedy them was by preaching the gospel; by diffusing its spirit of love and gentleness, and leaving it to work the cure of evils, by the gradual melioration of them, which he knew it could not suddenly remove. And, therefore, he says not a word on the subject of slavery; utters not a hint of rebuke to Philemon for being a slaveholder; not one intimation about giving Onesimus his freedom; but simply a request that he would receive and treat him as a Christian man ought to treat a Christian slave. Would that Paul's mantle had fallen on all the ministers of the gospel, and that the example of this great apostle might speak in these ends of the earth! Slavery, what is it? What has it been? What is it now? What is the slavery of the South, compared with the tenfold more extensive and more absolute servitude of the myriads of the Russian despot? What is it in mental, and moral, and physical degradation compared with the condition of operatives in the manufactories, and more especially in the coal mines of England? Let the British Quarterlies answer. The word *slavery* is not the evil; it is the *amount of sin and suffering* that it so often occasions that we deplore. And if this be the evil, the most judicious writers on the other side of the water instruct us that the working classes of Great Britain "have as great an amount of toil, and as few bodily comforts to remunerate them, as the slaves of Ancient Egypt or Rome." *Cruelty* is always sinful; *slavery* not always. I do not see how any Christian can affirm that slavery, under Christian influences, is sinful. I have no desire to be a slaveholder; but if I were such a slaveholder as Job, Abraham and Philemon, my conscience would not condemn me. If all masters were like these, where would be the sin of slavery?

There is great want of consideration on this subject in the minds of some, who are otherwise wise and sober men. If slavery were a sin *per se*, we should never find, in the New Testament, so many counsels to masters and slaves in regard to their mutual obligations. A Northern Abolitionist could not go into the Southern States and address a promiscuous assembly of masters and slaves in such language as the following: "Let as many slaves as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but rather *do them service*, because they are faithful." Yet the direction of the Bible is, to all the ministers of the gospel in such circumstances, "*These things teach and exhort.*" And what if some Abolitionist preacher had protested against this Christian doctrine; and what if he had declared that slavery is a sin, and that he never could "teach and exhort such things"? Let us listen to what the next sentence addresses to such a man. "*If any man teach otherwise*, and consent not to *wholesome words*, even the words of our *Lord Jesus Christ*, and to the doctrine which is according *to godliness;* he is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about *questions and strifes of words*, whereof cometh *envy, strife, railings*, evil surmisings, and perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds." Could the Apostle have furnished a more graphic description of modern Abolitionists, than in these few words? Are not such instructions a marvel, if slavery is necessarily a sin? And what shall we say of the Fugitive Slave law, if such instructions as these are binding?

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In the memorable struggle for our national independence, it is well known that we were not, at first, a united people. There was slavery in the North, as well as in the South; but it was the policy of the North to eradicate their entire system of domestic servitude. In that event, the slaveholding States of the South would be exposed to unfriendly influences from the free States; and before the South would consent to unite heart and hand in organizing and establishing the government we now enjoy, they demanded of the North some *honest pledge* that their rights, as slaveholding States, should be protected by the proposed Constitution. The North *had been the great slave-trading community*, and had filled the Southern market with slaves; they felt the force of the appeal from their Southern brethren; and justice to the South constrained them to consent to that constitutional protection of the slaveholding States which lies at the basis of that subsequent legislation which now agitates the land. The compact was a *bona fide* compact; and, without it, the independence of these United States is a fact that never would have been recorded in American history.

I demand, then, in the name of common honesty, if we are not religiously bound by this compact? When our fathers pledged their fortunes, their lives and their sacred honor to support this Constitution, *they did well;* in the sight of God, *they did just what they ought to have done;* and we do well to maintain the inheritance intact and unsullied. If I understand the teachings of the Bible, it enjoins upon all men the duty of being faithful to their engagements. It places "covenant-breakers" in the same category with the boldest transgressors and the most mischievous men. I shall be greatly disappointed in my views of the North, if the result does not bear me out in saying, on behalf of the great mass of Northern men, we are no truce-breakers. We are honest men, and the friends of good order. We are friends of the South, and make no war upon their domestic institutions. Whatever reasons we may have had for abolishing slavery among ourselves, their domestic institutions are not our business. We are not responsible for them, even if they are wrong, any more than we are responsible for other sins over which their own laws have the exclusive control. And if they are right, what have we to do in interfering with them? There are unreasonable and misguided men among us; but the South does us great injustice if it allows itself to believe that these men are the true indices of the Northern character. We do not disturb the rights of the South. To the free colored man we open our doors and our charities; but we would have it understood that the North is not the place for fugitive slaves. Some of them are no doubt good citizens; but *primâ facie*, they are bad. They are a trouble to us; they corrupt our population, they overload our prisons, they are a nuisance to our alms-houses, and had better be at home, where they are better employed and better governed. Nor is it among the least of the benefits of the Fugitive Slave law, that they are so rapidly disappearing from the midst of us. Most sincerely do we say to the South, keep your slaves at home; and forget not that there is One Being in the universe to whom you are responsible, and that you also have a Master in heaven.

We believe these to be the general, though not the unanimous views of the North. That there should be a difference of opinion on the subject of slavery, does not surprise us; but that there should be men in the midst of us who adopt extensive measures to resist the Government, throw the land into confusion, and separate what God has joined together by a common descent, a common language, common interests, common laws, a common honor, common intermarriages, a common system of Christian benevolence, common Churches, common rivers and railroads, a solemn compact-sealed by the blood of our fathers, ratified by ourselves, smiled upon by the God of providence, and envied by the nations; cannot be accounted for except by the most unaccountable delusion. One of "the seven things which the Lord hateth" is he that "soweth discord among brethren." We deplore such divisive measures. If we are resolved to have no alliance with States where slavery is countenanced by one of the most sacred of earthly compacts; to show them no favor, and give their legitimate claims no quarter; if we mean to introduce the iron-bed of Procrustes, and make our own opinions, whether long or short, the rigid measure of theirs, then farewell to peace; "instruments of cruelty are in our habitations."

Men talk about the division of the States; but *how* is this division to be effected? Have we at the North forgotten that, on the question of slavery, the advantage lies with the South; that the Constitution recognizes the right of the master to the service of the slave; and that we ourselves are bound by this Constitution, so long as we form an integral part of the Union? Let this point be once settled, and we ourselves have no alternative but to abide by the Constitution, or secede from these confederated States. Why should the South secede? They utter no complaints against the Constitution, and only ask that its stipulations be faithfully observed. Are the North prepared to assume the responsibility of seceding? A few may be prepared for it, misguided and misguiding men—men who are prepared for anything; but is the North prepared for this? Millions of voices respond, God forbid that any such reckless and unhallowed hands should invade the sanctuary of our sacred Union! Never! No, never till our fathers' God abandons to National suicide? Every feeling of humanity echoes the response; the echo is reverberated by our solemn oaths; nor dare we appeal to a higher law, with this oath upon our lips. *Conscience* affords no refuge from this dilemma.

Besides, has the nation no conscience? and is not the law of the land an expression of the conscience of the nation? I would not *resist* the Fugitive Slave law, even if it scandalized my conscience. Much less should I be excused in stimulating others to resistance, unless my single conscience is more enlightened than the conscience of the wisest and the best. I may feel that I am right, yet other men have a conscience as well as myself. In matters of high national interest and safety, my own conscience may not be clamorous in the presence of the higher conscience of the law and the Nation. For myself, I would quit the land I love so well, as my fathers did theirs, rather than dwell where I could not conscientiously obey its laws, or be the instigation of rebellion. And when this unbending conscience of mine has sought a refuge in other lands, and finds that, going where it will, there are evils in civil government which it must wink at; it may, perhaps, seek out a land where there is no law, and where every man's conscience is a law to himself. And if I shrink from this, then let me remain an obedient subject in a land where, by the testimony of my own conscience, the laws are wiser and more equitable than in any other country on the globe. What sane man would wish to live under a government in which the dictates of each man's conscience formed each man's law? There may be instances in which the conscience of the one or the few might be safely trusted; but if we look for this one or these few, shall we find them among those who, upon the rights of private judgment and conscience, build the right of revolt and resistance to authority?

Conscience *has* its claims on the subject of slavery. It instructs us that we should be kind to the slave. We owe a debt of justice to injured Africa and her sons. We ought to meliorate their condition by every expedient of Christian love and wisdom. And this every Christian slaveholder does; nor are we always sensible to what an extent the slaves are thus cared for. My own conscience is pressed with the question, what can be ultimately done with the slaves of the South? But for myself, I have no such conscience as would permit me to give them their freedom. I have no hesitation in saying that it would be *a sin* at once to set them at liberty; they would be friendless, and homeless, and wander as vagabonds in the earth. There is not so miserable a population in the land as the fugitive slaves—supported by charity and exposed to crime. Could I liberate all the slaves in these States by a prayer, I could not offer that prayer in love to the slave. The way is not yet prepared for so wild a project as the immediate abolition of slavery. The British Government made the experiment, and perhaps they did well to make it. But by its exacting apprenticeship it has been ruinous to the slave; and were the question now to be decided by the British Parliament, in the opinion of the best judges in England and Scotland, the result would be very different from what it was before experience taught them that a sickly sympathy and an ill-judged philanthropy sometimes miss their aims.

Southern slaveholders have consciences as well as other men; and they ask us to tell them WHAT TO DO WITH THEIR SLAVES! They are in earnest in this inquiry, and their language is: before you declaim so unqualifiedly against slaveholding as a sin, TELL US WHAT TO DO WITH OUR SLAVES. Are you not bound to tell them, or "ever after hold your peace"? If you say, *emancipate them*, thousands are willing to do this; but greater thousands, who control their laws, forbid their emancipation. If you say, *emancipate them in defiance of the laws*, the consequence is that they become the property of the law, and are sold to the highest bidder. If you say, *send them to the free States*, the free States will not receive them. Indiana will not; Ohio will not. When a colony of them, freed by their masters, was, not long since, sent to anti-slavery Ohio, that high-minded State would not give them a place for the soles of their feet. Yet these very people, in Congress and out of Congress, are all the while intent on the infuriate cry of *emancipation!* Is it to be wondered at that such things as these are, to the last degree, galling to the South?

There is this one fact on this subject that may not be overlooked. The slaveholding States are unhappily *placed in such a condition, that the slaves must either be slaves or masters;* and that what, under other circumstances, seems to many persons unkind, falls within the bounds of self-preservation. This burden is laid upon the South, laid upon them in our early history, not by their own fault only, but by the cupidity of Northern slave traders. Instead of being goaded to phrenzy, as they are, by Northern Abolitionists, they have demands our sympathy.

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There is one thought more which I may not suppress. "Charity seeketh not her own." Christian love values the whole more than a part. The slave population of this land has cost us dear already. It has cost us time and money that ought to have been better employed; it has cost us divided counsels, mutual love and confidence, embittered feelings and unsleeping jealousy. It may cost us the peace and prosperity of the fairest land on which the sun shines. In the name of that charity which "worketh no ill to his neighbor," I ask, has it not cost us enough? Shall we sacrifice the harmony, the good faith, the honor of these States for the fugitive slave? To me it seems this is asking too much. Our fathers lavished their blood and treasure to very little purpose if the prosperity of these States is to be thus disturbed. I have yet to learn from the Bible that I must become a rebel against the Government which protects me, and array myself with the enemies of my country, in order to protect a fugitive slave. So long as it is the law of the land, I will stand by the "Fugitive Slave law." I am willing to meet this issue even in the strongest case, and one which none but a blinded conscience and a sophistical reason would present, and say I love my country and love her laws more than I love the fugitive slave. He may have been unrighteously brought to our shores; but I am not responsible for that unrighteousness. He may be a sufferer; but I am not under obligations to relieve the suffering, if, by so doing, I produce a greater amount of suffering. For the crushed and deserted African I would do and suffer much, if thereby I could make him more happy. But it is a deplorable fact that the African race has, for ages, presented the most discouraging field for the efforts of the Christian Church. True religion has never flourished among them, and they remain to this day almost entire strangers to Christianity. We have no doubt that, under the reign of Jesus Christ, they will be elevated to the true worship of God; nor can we suppress the hope that the early curse pronounced upon them will be alleviated. But we cannot forget that there is a *judicial barrier* between them and the other two races. We are far from asserting that there is any inferiority of nature or original deficiency of intellect in the posterity of Ham. There is no evidence of this. Had we ourselves, for three thousand years, been "the common spoil of the world," and subjected to their degradation, I much doubt if we should have risen higher in intellect than they. We cheerfully give them this intellectual equality; but we cannot rescue them from the ancient curse. We have given them the gospel; nor have we any doubt that a brighter day will arise upon them. "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands to God," but she shall be Ethiopia still. If I read the curse denounced against her rightly, and as all the commentators to whom I have had access read it, even in the millennium she will be the subordinate race. While, therefore, God's purposes are not the rule of human conduct, and no excuse for human wickedness, we may not be heedless observers of his providence, nor rashly enter into controversy with him at the peril of the descendants of Shem and Japheth. We may contend for the Ethiopian race, and contend for them till the land is covered with gore and dismembered, but there the record will stand: "God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant."

I have done. I may, perhaps, be criminated for this interference with a subject which seems to fall more directly within the province of the legislator and the statesman. Be it so. For humanity's sake and for truth's sake I have spoken. Happy for the country had there been no occasion for us to travel out of our appropriate sphere. While the men *in* England, and the men *from* Scotland, who are always harping on the subject of American slavery, are playing a game in this country sufficiently obvious to reflecting men, and while they are encouraged in their seditious spirit by so many of the unreflecting among ourselves, we may not keep silence. I have lived long enough to see that, on the great subject of republican liberty, the United States are at issue with the world; and that if, on this question of slavery, they can triumph over us as a divided people, they will have given the finishing stroke to civil and religious freedom. The crisis has come. The eyes of the world are upon us. If completed at all, the tragedy will be completed soon. These are not groundless fears. There is a deep current setting the wrong way, and men are not wanting who know well how to avail themselves of it, both for ecclesiastical and political ends. Our most important interests are at stake; and if we are undone we shall deserve our chains. Our only hope is in Him whose providence is to frustrate the destructive counsels of men, to change or defeat their purposes, and not suffer any weapon formed against us to prosper.

Selections.

EMANCIPATION IN THE WEST INDIES.

IMPORTANT TESTIMONY.

From The Herald.

EDWARD BEANE UNDERHILL, Esq., of London, Foreign Secretary of the English General (Baptist) Missionary Society, being in this city, on his way home from the West Indies, by invitation lately addressed a meeting of the clergy of New York and vicinity, and other persons, at the rooms of the Baptist Bible Union, in Broome street. He has been four or five years engaged officially in visiting the missions of his denomination in India, Ceylon, Burmah and the West Indies, and the object of the meeting was to hear from him some account of the state of those missions. Some forty or fifty clergymen were present (among them Rev. F. O. Neillson, who was lately banished from Sweden), and about an equal number of ladies.

MR. UNDERHILL, in the first part of his remarks, treated of the missions in Asia and the East Indies, the character of the natives, the mode of conducting missionary operations, and their success; the progress of translating the Scriptures, &c. He next spoke of his late visit to the West India missionaries. He had visited Trinidad, Hayti and other West India islands, and had spent five months in the island of Jamaica, and was prepared to deny, utterly, the statements that either emancipation or missionary labors had proved a failure in that island. He had left Jamaica and the other West India islands with a glad heart and thankful to God. All the islands under British government, except Trinidad, were Christian islands—more Christian in some sort than Europe itself. There were more church-members in proportion to the population, and a greater attendance upon public worship, he thought, than in any other part of the world. In some islands not a single family was accustomed to being absent from public worship, and the same was true to a great extent of the island of Jamaica. There could not be less than 180,000 people in Jamaica under direct religious instruction. At the eastern end of the island there were few missionaries and a scattered population, and, therefore, less general religious instruction; but in St. Anne's bay there was not two per cent. of the inhabitants but were in the habit of attending worship. There had been, it was true, since emancipation, a considerable falling away from the Churches; but that was attributable to natural causes. The excitement attending emancipation itself had died down, and there had been time for the purification of the Churches and the exercise of due discipline. Before emancipation the people were a great deal in the hands of the church-leaders, who were mostly uneducated, illiterate men. The missionaries could rarely visit the plantations, except by stealth. But since emancipation the leaders were more instructed and were directly under the eyes of the missionaries, who were better acquainted with the people, and altogether the Churches were more thoroughly in the hands of their pastors. Hence, there had naturally been some considerable diminution. Again, the circumstances of the country were such as to constrain great numbers to leave their original locations and resort to more mountainous regions in search of cheap lands. As yet there were not sufficient agencies for reaching these wanderers. Another cause of decrease was to be found in the diminution of the ministry. His own society had aided them but very little, merely furnishing them fifteen or sixteen native pastors annually, and they had done everything else at their own cost. There had been a like diminution in the Wesleyan body. The great want of Jamaica at this time was more ministers, for each one man had, on an average, more than two Churches under his care. There had been, since emancipation, a great improvement in education. In one parish, at that time, there were, out of five thousand inhabitants, only three or four who could read and write; and three or four years ago there were in the same district eighteen hundred who could read. The piety of this people, though not as refined and high-toned as in English and American Churches, was sincere, earnest and devoted. Otherwise they would not support their pastors, build and repair their chapels, and maintain their schools. Government made but very limited appropriations for the schools, and the people, under the direction of the missionaries, did everything else. The antagonism of the planting interest to their education had been very great till within a few years, when there had been a great change in the character of that interest, and more attempts made to improve the moral and spiritual condition of the people. Taking the whole islands together, they had reason to sing songs of grateful praise to their Father in Heaven for his blessings upon their missionary efforts. He came now to the more secular and political aspect of the question of emancipation. It had been asserted here, even within a few days, that West Indian emancipation was a dead failure, and that had been urged as an apology for the slowness of an emancipation in this country, and even as an argument in favor of keeping the black people of this country and Cuba in slavery altogether. The facts did not bear out the argument, and he was prepared to say that it was utterly fallacious. In the first place, emancipation was not the cause of the decline of Jamaica, England now receives from its West India possessions as much sugar as she ever did. It is true she does not receive half as much from Jamaica, but the other islands make it up. What has been a failure in Jamaica has been a great prosperity in Trinidad and other islands. If, then, emancipation produced such sad results in Jamaica, how will you account for opposite results in the other islands, which were under the same influences? The fact was, that neither the success in the one nor the decay in the other had anything to do with emancipation. Both prosperity and decay were attributable mainly to good and bad management. In Jamaica there had been a want of skill and enterprise, and destruction of property from a variety of causes. The West India islands, it was well known, enjoyed a high protective duty on sugar, even down to the emancipation. The usual results followed in Jamaica, to wit: unskilful cultivation and dependence upon the margin of protection for profits, instead of good management in production and manufacture. But the withdrawal of protection would not account for the decay of Jamaica; for protection was lost to the other islands at the same time, and yet they all continued to prosper. Therefore, neither emancipation nor the want of protection would account for commercial decay in Jamaica, which was unquestionable. The Jamaica planters complained that they could not get laborers, and said the people were idle and careless. He was sorry, but he could not confirm that story for the planters. The fault did not lie with the people. There was not, taking one thing with another, a more industrious peasantry on earth than the peasantry of Jamaica. The value of the produce cultivated by the negroes of Jamaica reached at least two millions per annum. In fact, they produced whatever was produced, and that did not prove idleness. He had crossed the country three times, had travelled a thousand miles in it, had gone into their cottages in the interior, had talked with them in all sorts of places, had seen great numbers of nice, comfortable houses, abundance of clothing, a people well dressed, houses filled with good furniture, and all the evidence of an approach to higher civilization. He had seen men who were penniless at the time of emancipation now possessed of large property. He knew of one man buying six hundred acres of land, and of another renting two thousand acres. One white planter told him he had seven properties, and a black man managed each of them, and said he would rather have a black man, for honesty and integrity, than the usual order of white men employed in these avocations. There were idle, wicked people, and badness in the towns, but not so much as in New York or London; and in the mountains they would find as orderly, well-conducted and decent a peasantry as anywhere in the world. The population engaged in sugar cultivation was not the best, and he thought that business was not favorable, morally and spiritually, to the people. For their interest he doubted whether that culture should be encouraged. Before emancipation a majority of their church-leaders were managers and drivers on the estates; now that class did not constitute a tenth part of their number. People of the best class would not engage in sugar cultivation, when they could make much more upon their own extensive holdings, for there were in the island fifty or sixty thousand black freeholders. Almost the only class who were accumulating money were the negroes. The planters could not get labor for the reason that the people could make more at home, and a large labor emigration into Jamaica would be necessary even to extend sugar cultivation. Emancipation, then, whether regarded from a religious or a social point of view, had not been a failure. The planters were not what they used to be, and to the people it had been an unmixed good. The present Governor of Jamaica told him he would select that island of all places to show the beneficent results of emancipation. On the mountains and beautiful valleys of Jamaica, and under the shade of its mangoe trees, might be found thousands of men and women, not only Christians, but upright and honorable, and striving to elevate themselves and their children. All their faults came from slavery, and all their virtues from emancipation, and he looked forward to the time when, under God's blessing, all the faults would disappear and only the virtues remain.

In answer to a question by Mr. J. R. Ludlow, he said the Jamaica planters opposed emancipation, and oppressed the peasants, while the planters of the other islands entered heartily into the spirit of emancipation. About a third of the exports were the product of negro labor on lands owned by themselves. They appeared to have no animosity towards their former masters.

Resolutions of thanks to the speaker were reported and unanimously passed, and the meeting separated with a prayer by Rev. Dr. HISCOX.

THE SERF QUESTION IN RUSSIA.

Correspondence of The London Telegraph.

ST. PETERSBURG, June 25, 1860.

AFTER my previous explanations concerning the present disposition of the Russian nobility, you will, I dare say, be somewhat prepared to receive news of liberal and consequently startling import from this capital. What I have to communicate to-day will, however, outdo the most extravagant expectations that might have been entertained as to the progress of a feeling of independence among the boyards. Leaving it for your readers to test the correctness of this assertion, I proceed to give the following documents without further introduction or comment:

The nobility of the province of Wladimir, in a petition recently addressed to the Emperor on the subject of administrative abuses, expressed themselves in such terms as these:

YOUR MAJESTY!—Up to the present time the existence of administrative corruption in Russia has been but a natural result of the peculiar division of society in this empire. A land with slavery as one of its established institutions cannot possibly aspire to the enforcement of right and justice in any class of society. If, however, serfdom is to be abolished, it becomes a necessity to allow the coöperation of the municipal bodies in all matters of government, and more especially in those relating to the prompt and actual execution of the law. Without this, no reform can be carried out in Russia, nor would the abolition of serfdom prove beneficial to the peasantry, save after the curtailment of the unlimited power now vested in the officials. To liberate the peasantry during the continuance of the present state of things would be to deprive them of the protection of their masters, and hand this unfortunate class over to the greater, and indeed, intolerable arbitrariness of official irresponsibility. We may well say that such a proceeding would be conducive to the entire extinction of every feeling of right and law in the breasts of the peasantry.

Most gracious Emperor! The nobility deem it their holy duty to submit to the most gracious cognizance of your Imperial Majesty that there are certain administrative reforms most urgently required, if the imminent change in the condition of the serfs is to be at all attended with results beneficial to them and the empire at large. These reforms, it is our settled conviction, must be the following:

1. An entire separation of the police from the administration of justice.
2. The introduction of the principle of self-government for all classes, the members of the local authorities to be responsible only to the established tribunals of the country, and to be elected without any concurrence whatever of the authorities.
3. The introduction of common administrative organs having power over all classes of society without distinction.
4. A reorganization of the police on the principle of strict adherence to law.
5. The admission of the public to courts of justice, the trial of criminals by oral evidence, and the introduction of juries.
6. The issuing of a law, making every one alike responsible for his actions to the legal tribunals of the country.
7. The introduction of the personal responsibility of officials—a responsibility such as no longer to enable them to shield their own illegalities under an alleged order of their superiors.
8. The taking of new, safe and effective measures for the establishment of private and public credit on solid foundations.

These are the alterations which the nobility of Wladimir dare to recommend to the approval of your Majesty, as indispensable to the new life of the Russian public.

Most gracious Majesty: You have been the first to awaken this life in your people. In your greatness of soul you will, we have no doubt, realize the desires of your devoted subjects. With the profoundest respect, we have the happiness to be, &c., &c.

This address met with a severe rebuke from M. Lanskoi, the Minister of the Intérior:

His Majesty has received, and with the utmost dissatisfaction perused, the petition signed by the marshals and some of the members of the nobility of Wladimir. This petition I pronounce to be filled with improper criticisms on the present order and organization of government. It is an altogether unfounded complaint of the petitioners when they say that the local offices are held by men who are strangers to the interests of the people. It is equally unfounded when they accuse the superior authorities of a prevalent disregard of law and justice; and there are demands uttered in the petition far exceeding the privileges accorded to the nobility under existing statutes. There is no law enacted allowing the nobility the discussion of questions bearing upon the general organization of the State; still less are they granted the right of interference in matters affecting the empire as a whole. Such interference can in no case be tolerated; as, if the contrary were allowed, the nobility would be rendered the judges not only of their own affairs, but of the interests of all classes of society. I am really astonished at the boldness of the petitioners in handing up an address of such unlawful contents. At all events it would have been the duty of the Marshal of the province to prevent the signing of the address by the nobility under his supervision; which, however, he has not only neglected to do, but has actually set the example by placing his signature at the head of the others. For this illegal proceeding his Majesty has been pleased to command that a severe reprimand should be given to the first Marshal and the other marshals of the said province.

The "severe reprimand," in a country like Russia, being a manifest sign of weakness on the part of the government, the nobility of many of the other provinces have not allowed themselves, by the mere expression of Imperial disfavor, to be deterred from the presentation of addresses similar to that of their Wladimir brethren. The mildest of these addresses, as may be well presumed, is that of the St. Petersburg nobility, that body consisting of men living under the personal supervision of the Emperor, and more immediately dependent upon his sovereign will. A comparison of the St. Petersburg address with that of Wladimir will, therefore, serve to show the two extremes of patrician remonstrance, and allow of a fair appreciation of the nature of those lying between. Thus runs the antipodal prayer of the St. Petersburg address:

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AUTOCRAT!—The nobility of St. Petersburg have, with feelings of delight and admiration, heard the words which it has lately pleased your Imperial Majesty to address to the nobility representatives of twenty-four of the Russian provinces. Your Majesty, in uttering the words "lies and calumnies," has passed a dread verdict of condemnation upon certain rumors to the effect of a diminution of your Imperial confidence in the most loyal nobility of this empire. Your Majesty has, at the same time, been pleased to command that no credit should be attached to any statements put forward by unauthorized parties, but that we should place our belief in you alone. These words have been deeply impressed in our hearts. By them a guarantee has been given to us against the violation of our rights and fortunes, which are demanded by reason equally as they have been secured to the nobility through the letters patent concerning the institution and legal privileges of our class. Such is and always will be the inherent force of a Czar's promise in Russia. Upon the strength of this promise the St. Petersburg nobility confide the protection of their holiest possessions to the safe keeping of your hands, oh great Emperor. While, however, performing this act of loyal devotion, the nobility are aware of their bounden duty to direct the attention of their powerful protector to those shortcomings in the existing organizations of the State which might possibly interfere with the realization of your Majesty's benevolent designs. The nobility venture, then, to place before your Majesty one circumstance which has lately attained particular importance as respects the preservation of their class. In accordance with existing statutes, the greater portion of provincial offices is in the gift of the respective nobility assemblies. A committee, however, has been recently instituted by the Minister of the Interior to lay down a plan for the reorganization of these arrangements. The St. Petersburg nobility, although they may be conscious of the necessity of certain alterations of the above-mentioned statutes, yet, in the most solemn manner, and before the face of their Emperor and country, hereby declare that they have been always proud of the right vested in them of filling up vacancies in the service of the State; and this not on account of the exclusive character of their privileges, but because they cherish them as a guarantee for the general welfare of all classes. The St. Petersburg nobility adhere to this conviction, which they have gained from the most intimate knowledge of Russian society, and therefore venture to declare to your Majesty that they look upon the continuance of their right of self-government as a necessary requisite for the prosperity of the State.

The English reader must be told that the right alluded to has been long reduced to a mere formality. The St. Petersburg nobility, then, in praying for the continuance of their privileges, are, in reality, asking his Majesty to grant the execution in future of an already existing law. As will be seen from the tenor of either address, the nobility mean to barter

or as our Representative at the most mighty Court of Europe.

Go on, esteemed daughter of Virginia and of a most noble sire, in the work of patriotism, of freedom and humanity. Others shall be influenced by your bright and heroic example. And may we not hope for the speedy coming of that good time when the State we love shall resume her ancient position, the foremost among her sisters of this glorious Union? Her central location, her unequalled natural resources and capabilities, demand this at her hands. She should be first in agriculture, in commerce, in arts, in manufactures, and especially in intellectual culture, and in all the higher developments of mind and heart which give elevation of purpose and dignity of character, and spread the kind charities and sweet amenities of Christian civilization through all the activities of social and domestic life.

I know you will have one earnest sympathizer in the person of my wife, who, like yourself, born to a condition of ease and indulgence amid a large circle of servants, has, like yourself, chosen the consciousness of doing justice and loving mercy at the expense of incurring the reproach of folly and fanaticism. The names of those equal to the surrender of arbitrary power are few indeed, and worthy of eternal consecration. Who can forget Diocletian, Charles V., Richard Cromwell, Lafayette, or the Russian Alexander II., who has already achieved greater glory by the emancipation of his serfs than did his Grecian predecessor by the subjugation of the world. Yours shall be a kindred glory. God grant that you may be spared the cruel persecution, spite, threats and denunciation which my poor wife has been compelled to endure. Through the medium of that good wife, in her premature and enforced widowhood at Culpepper, I send these brief words, assuring you of the sincere respect and great regard with which I remain,

Your friend, JOHN C. UNDERWOOD.

—*Tribune.*

INDEPENDENCE DAY.

Anti-Slavery Celebration at Framingham, Mass.

Phonographic report by J. M. W. Yerinton.

[CONCLUDED.]

SPEECH OF ABBY KELLEY FOSTER.

MR. CHAIRMAN: As there is a doubt in some minds as to whether the Republican party is pledged by its platform, or otherwise, to exclude slavery from the States, I wish Mr. Wilson would give us his interpretation of that platform; but, as he interpreted it at my elbow just now, I will say that he does not claim that the Republican party is pledged to vote against the admission of new slave States, but, on the contrary, that they are at liberty to do so or not, as they see fit. That is Mr. Wilson's interpretation.

Once more. There is a difference of opinion as to the injury to the anti-slavery cause by the Republican party, as compared with the Democratic party. I have held, and some others of the Anti-Slavery Society have held, that of the two parties, the Republican party was more dangerous than the Democratic, and I wish, in a word, to show why I so regard it. The difference between the two parties, as we have heard it expounded here, is this—the one party is pledged against the recognition of slavery on Territory where it does not exist, while that Territory is under the control of the Federal Government; the other (the Democratic party) lets it alone, and allows it to exist. Very well. Now, I take a familiar illustration. I suppose you are all temperance people, and I submit to you, therefore, that if there was a party in the field, standing on the ground that they would legalize and defend the sale of ardent spirits all over the State, or all over the country, whether such a party, defending, apologizing for, and approving of the sale of rum, would deceive anybody, or draw anybody, imbued with the love of temperance, into its ranks? But, suppose there is another party, a large number of whose members take temperance ground, and whose leading men of influence make strong temperance speeches, declaring that intemperance is a sin, a crime, a damning shame, spending four hours of the nation's time in showing, by statistics, that it is a curse, physically, commercially, morally, intellectually, spiritually, and then, after those strong temperance speeches, after those earnest, beautiful, logical temperance speeches, showing that intemperance ought to be abolished throughout the country; that nobody has a right to sustain it; that he was cursing his race if he did—then, forsooth, giving three cheers for a party which has adopted a platform, saying it will defend rum-drinking and rum-selling in the lowest doggeries of a Legree, everywhere throughout the country, where it now exists; but, forsooth, it will not establish it in those prospective Territories, where people may go sometime, and establish themselves, and wish to sell rum! Why, Mr. Chairman, the mere statement of the question makes the whole thing perfectly absurd. I do not believe there is a temperance man so utterly stultified as to be deceived by such a party. Do you? Does anybody believe that any temperance man would say that such a party was worthy of countenance and support?

But, Mr. Chairman, the community is so entirely blinded, so utterly stultified by the miasma of slavery, that the great mass of the people believe that a party which is actually pledged to support slavery where it exists, in fifteen States of the Union, to give up fugitive slaves, and to put down every slave insurrection, is doing something against slavery, because it is pledged not to allow it to exist in the new Territories; and therefore I feel that the Republican party does deceive people, does lure within its embrace large numbers of people who have a great deal of anti-slavery feeling, and a great desire that slavery should be abolished; and therefore I regard it as more dangerous by far than the Democratic party, which deceives nobody. I am sorry that people can be deceived by such a party, but that they are, I feel that no one can question; because, if they are not deceived, if the men who sit before me are not deceived, if they go into the Republican party with their eyes wide open, seeing that the party is pledged and sworn to all this iniquity, they are worse than I really believed them to be. I truly believe that they have more anti-slavery spirit and feeling than their laxity of conduct would seem to warrant.

I will close my remarks, Mr. Chairman, by relating a fact which occurred in our New England Anti-Slavery Convention some twelve years ago, when Seth Sprague, Sen.—"Father Sprague"—sat in the chair now occupied by one who is worthy to wear his mantle. It was at the time when Gen. Taylor had been nominated by the Whigs, and there had been a conflict as to the "choice of evils"—whether he should be voted for as President, as the least of two evils, or the Democratic candidate, who was claimed to be less anti-slavery than Gen. Taylor; and "Father Sprague," rising to his feet, said, in his broken voice—perhaps even more broken than mine—"Before the meeting adjourns, I wish to make a few remarks in relation to the topic under discussion: 'Of two evils, choose the least.' In plain parlance, it means, 'Of two *devils*, choose the least.' I choose to take neither; for I have found, in an experience of more than three-score years and ten, that when you choose, as you think, the least of two devils, he is so 'deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked,' you find, in the long run, you have got the biggest." And, Mr. Chairman, when Taylor came to his seat in the Presidential chair, and the experiment of the administration of the "least of two devils" was under pretty good headway, I asked our dear friend David Lee Child, who had made a speech advocating his election, if he remembered the remarks of Father Sprague, and, said he, "I distinctly remember them, and I feel the force of them; for of those two devils, I am sure that Martin Van Buren, in the long run, would have proved infinitely less than John Tyler."

So, Mr. Chairman, for these reasons, as well as for other reasons, I say that the Republican party, which now appears to be the "little devil," will prove itself, in the long run, to be the greater of the two; and those who vote for him to-day may feel as David Lee Child felt two years after he made the speech in favor of the choice of the smallest devil (applause).

THE PRESIDENT—One or two of the speakers have alluded to the danger that would attend even Mr. Wilson, a Senator of the United States, should he venture into one-half of this country, and there express the plain sentiments of love of liberty which he has to-day expressed. We all know that is perfectly true; and we also know, that even the native-born inhabitants of those slave States are not permitted to express an opinion in the least degree hostile to slavery, without thereby endangering their lives, if not forfeiting them and forfeiting their liberty. We have this day, in this meeting, a most marked proof of this truth. A most excellent and estimable man, whom many of you have already heard—whose lot was cast in a slaveholding country, who had lived there all his life, who was a preacher of the Gospel—who had ventured to express some opinion hostile to slavery, and had actually dared to purchase a book which he wished to possess—a copy of Helper's "Impending Crisis"—was for these crimes seized and imprisoned and indicted, and was kept for many months in a loathsome dungeon, at the imminent risk of his life, and is at this moment under heavy bonds, which he must raise to free his bondsmen, or else return and spend his life in that loathsome dungeon. You know, of course, to whom I refer—Rev. DANIEL WORTH, of North Carolina; and I am sure you will give him a warm greeting.

Rev. Mr. WORTH stepped upon the platform, and was heartily cheered. He declined to speak, however, on account of the lateness of the hour, merely stating that, if life and health were spared, he hoped to have the opportunity of addressing those whom he saw before him in their respective towns, and laying before them the facts connected with his case.

SPEECH OF C. L. REMOND.

CHARLES LENOX REMOND was then introduced, and briefly addressed the audience. He commenced by expressing the hope that the meeting would extend to their friend and brother, H. Ford Douglass, of Illinois, an invitation to leave that negro-hating and disfranchising State, and make his home in Massachusetts; and then remarked that he differed from almost everybody in regard to the Union, the Constitution, and the Fourth of July. As he came through the streets of Boston that morning, he saw Irishmen, Scotchmen, Germans, all earnest in their patriotic manifestations; and within a few hours, the Japanese embassy had left our country, who had been honored by the ovations of the American people, in Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York; and yet every one knew that, like Mr. Douglass and himself, they were colored men; and if Mr. Douglass might be enslaved to-day, and he (Mr. R.) disfranchised, on account of their color, he asked if the American people had not proved themselves more than knaves—hypocrites and cowards—in their treatment of the Japanese embassy, and in their treatment of colored Americans? He felt that they were called upon to renew their testimony against the Union, their condemnation of the Constitution, and their everlasting repudiation of Fourth of July celebrations, under the Union. He agreed in the doctrine of "No union with slaveholders," and hoped that the "fanaticism," "infidelity" and "treason" of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society would not cease until they should produce, throughout the free States, the enactment of laws that should make every Southern vessel coming into our ports ride thirty-nine days at quarantine—just as many days as slaveholders inflict stripes upon the colored man for the slightest offence—and imprison every slaveholder and every apologist for slavery who crosses the line of the old Bay State (applause).

SPEECH OF STEPHEN S. FOSTER.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER then took the platform, to occupy the few moments that yet remained before the departure of the cars. He said, in substance:

I was very deeply interested in the remarks of my friend Parker Pillsbury. It seems to me that his logic was irresistible, and I cannot but think that he carried all heads and all hearts with him in his exposition of the character and aims and probable results of the Republican party. There is no want of conviction here. I have listened to him again and again, and I am always convinced, and so are the masses of the audiences who listen to him, and the friends who utter similar sentiments. But then comes back the question, What shall we do? I find nobody that defends the Republican party to-day. Mr. Wilson does not intimate that if you put the reins of the government into the hands of the Republican party, that party will free the slaves, nor that it will throw an influence abroad over the country favorable to liberty. Nobody justifies his position in the Republican ranks, and everybody is there, or in a worse position, only as a choice of evils. There is not a man in Massachusetts who will attempt to prove that the Republican party occupies the ground of absolute right, and is capable of being defended on the ground of absolute morality. Everybody knows and admits that its position is a compromise position. But, then, the question comes up, "What are you going to do? It is that or nothing. We have got to take the Republican party, or else fold our hands and do nothing." That is the reason people support that party as they do. It is by this method of reasoning that they quiet their consciences in a false position; and I think the responsibility for this quiet of the popular conscience rests with this platform. It is because of the fact that we have pointed out to the people no other mode of action. We are called a "do-nothing Society"; and we are a "do-nothing Society," practically.

My friend, Mr. Sanborn, said he was tired of talk, and I was glad to hear him say it. I know that there is a power in talk, and talk will overturn the world; but it is talk which points to, and results in, *action*. The difficulty is, our anti-slavery is all negative. We say to the people, "Cease to do evil"—and there we stop; we fail to show them how to do well.

My friend Garrison said, it is our business to reform public sentiment. I admit it—that is exactly the thing. But what is it that needs reforming? It is simply this. The slave has no liberty in this country, because he is outlawed. We have never taught the people how to put him under the protection of law. That is our great mistake. We have taught them how not to enslave him, but not how to protect him. The great business of the American Anti-Slavery Society is to teach the people, who are the governors of the country, how to govern it. That is what we have failed to do. Men support the Republican party as the best thing they can do. A few of us are engaged in a movement to teach them, so that they shall not be misled, and show them "a more excellent way." It is to this movement that I wish to ask your attention. Reduce the Constitution to practice; honestly carry out its provisions; and under it, "proclaim liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

BRAVE WORDS FITLY SPOKEN.

[The following are extracts from an address delivered by GEORGE A. COFFEY, Esq., of Philadelphia, before the Alumni of Dickinson College, at the late Commencement of that institution. The orator's theme was, "*The Relation between Public Opinion and Individual Liberty.*"]

LIBERTY, after self-preservation, is the first necessity and aspiration of every human being. Without it there can be no spontaneous activity of body or mind, and therefore no intelligence or virtue. It is as essential to progress and happiness as is the air to life. Liberty is the atmosphere which civilization must breathe or else die. As Shelley sings, it is one with justice and love. Accordingly, it attracts alike the vague longings of the savage, and the profound speculations of the philosopher. It is the dream of Poetry, the ideal of Art, and the inspiration of the Hero. It is the great question of all ages. History, from Herodotus to Bancroft, is but the story of its birth, its struggles and its victories. The great battles of the world—the Marathons, the Pharasalias, the Hastingses, the Yorktowns, the Waterloos and the Solferinos—derive their interest from their effects upon human liberty, which hung over them all, like the gods of Homer over the plains of Troy, trembling in the clouds of war. The whole course of time has been the effort of the race to emerge from the despotism of ignorance, superstition, barbarism and force. It is an ancient myth that the giant Enceladus lies bound beneath Ætna, and that the fire and lava of the volcano are caused by his struggles to disengage himself. And so the ruin of cities, the fall of dynasties and empires, civil wars, servile insurrections, bloody revolutions, are the wrathful phenomena which indicate that strengthening humanity is forever breaking through arbitrary restraint and privilege, to assert itself and its possibilities. Indeed, the perfected civilization of the future will be simply—organized liberty. That is,

> "The wish—which ages have not yet subdued,
> To make—to have no master save his mood."

This theme, therefore, forever commands the heart, whether it rolls from the sublime lips of Demosthenes, or thunders in the vivid eloquence of Chatham, Mirabeau, or Henry, or blazes and sparkles in the voluminous periods of Brougham, the thrilling manifestoes of Mazzini, or the entrancing rhetoric of Sumner. This theme has electrified the slave, the serf, the peasant, the yeoman, the commoner, the rebel, the revolutionist and the patriot, from the days when kings fled from Rome, and Brutus and Spartacus mastered his self-emancipating legions, till the later days when the Declaration of Independence became the gospel of the rights of man, and the social earthquakes of 1789 and 1848 tossed thrones and armies in the air, and the statesmanship of Cavour and the sword of Garibaldi are destroying the triple tyranny of the Hapsburg, the Bourbon and the Pope. Enthusiasm for liberty inspired the martial lyrics of Tyrteus two thousand years ago, and the majestic verse of Milton two hundred years ago, as in our times, with quenchless fire, it has kindled the songs of Schiller, Berangér and Whittier. Liberty, baptized for ages in the blood of heroes and martyrs, grows lovelier as increasing centuries attest her immortal youth and blessedness, and to-day she is more than ever the music, the watchword and the war-cry of the weak, the lowly and the oppressed; whether they crouch in the by-ways of Paris, lie chained in the Spielburg, whisper the name of Victor Emanuel in the valleys of Calabria, or track their path, by the light of the North Star, through the forests of Virginia. Indeed this theme cannot be trite so long as any irresponsible earthly power rules the body or the mind; so long as there remains a solitary human being who aspires to be free.

The discussion of this great topic is very important even in this latter half of the Nineteenth century. The battle of Freedom is not yet won. The world is not yet rid of kings, nobilities, State Churches, standing armies and class oligarchies. The continent of Africa still welters in savageness and slavery; though it looks as if the midnight of her degradation is past, and such spots as Sierra Leone, Liberia, the Cape, and the slave enfranchising Barbary States are the promise of approaching dawn. Asia still sleeps in the iron arms of an antiquated semi-civilization, and the perfumed and languid Orient is only beginning to be stirred with the fresh and free airs of the Occident. In Europe the Armageddon of liberty has not yet been fought, which shall scatter the kings of the earth combined for battle; nor has the great voice out of the temple in Heaven yet said, "It is done!" In Russia, the enlightened Czar now reigning—a most rebuking example to some of our American potentates—has just planted the seeds of representative legislation in some of his provinces, and eclipsed the renown of all his ancestors by his magnanimous policy of abolishing serfdom. Central Europe, though alive with scientific and material progress, is still grievously encumbered with kaisers and mediatized princes and titled nobilities, and the ubiquitous intermeddling of the bureau, the censor and the police, so that all spontaneous action is suppressed, and there is no free thought outside the sphere of physics and abstract philosophy. High-spirited France is at once gagged, fettered and fascinated by the shrewd, resolute and unscrupulous Louis Napoleon, who pays ostentatious homage to universal suffrage, and patronizes Italian liberty, while he poises his autocratic empire upon the points of half a million of bayonets. Great Britain is distinguished for her maintenance of personal and civil rights. Her jurisprudence, more manly than the code which bears the name of Justinian, is the world's nearest approach to the pure and exact administration of justice. But English liberty is clothed with forms which, although venerable for centuries, and hallowed as the landmarks of the advance of liberty for a thousand years, have yet, many of them, grown antiquated, tedious, expensive and cumbersome. * * * * * * *

"Our American institutions avow themselves as resting upon the consent of the governed, and securing all the inalienable rights of man. The corner-stone of our Republic is rock-based upon these, and the ocean-washed gates of American democracy blaze with the words, forever new, "All men are created equal; they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. To secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." In distinct recognition of these primordial axioms, the Federal Constitution, in its majestic preamble, announces that the people of the United States ordain it to secure the blessings of liberty for themselves and their posterity.

It must be confessed that we have not consistently practised our own principles. The absolute rights of man, such as personal security, life, liberty and property, are enjoyed by much the greater part of our people, but not by all; for about four millions of innocent men and women of African descent are forcibly deprived of all liberty and property, and of nearly all personal security. Political rights, that is, those which attach to us as members of civil society, are or may be enjoyed by all white men, but not by women, or by men of color. I wonder if our highly-civilized posterity, two or three centuries hereafter, will ever marvel that, in the days when Victoria was Queen and Liberia first flourished, we should put our bootblacks and our mothers on the same constitutional level, and persist in political disabilities upon the sex of Florence Nightingale and the complexion of Alexander Dumas.

Public opinion built the tower of Babel, wandered from the foot of Sinai to worship Aaron's golden calf, swelled the rebellion of Absalom, ostracized Aristides, poisoned Socrates and crucified Jesus. It hurried away the chivalry of the middle ages to the Crusades, restored the Stuarts to England and the Bourbons to France. It assassinated the pensionary De Witt, guillotined the Girondins, excited the Lord Gordon riots, hung the Salem witches, burnt Pennsylvania Hall and Saint Augustine's church, defeated the Henry Clay whom it now canonizes, acquitted Daniel E. Sickles, and maintains the vast circulation of *The New York Herald*. Public opinion abhorred Faust as in league with the devil, applauded the imprisonment of Galileo, allowed Fulton to die a beggar, and howled for years at Clarkson and Wilberforce.

But all this bravely changes. Public opinion never fails in due time to dash from their shrines all its false gods. It has long ago dispensed with crosses, scaffolds and dungeons. As it grows refined it scouts these coarse appliances. It now clamors, or laughs, or sneers, or gives you the cut, or votes you down. Its most efficient engine is the Periodical Press. When this is servile or venal, or blind—unable or unwilling to publish the truth, and defend the right, and rebuke the folly of the hour, it spreads and strengthens the errors and wrongs to which it defers. The Press is the cherubim's flaming sword, turning every way to illumine and guard the way of life. Falsehood often essays to seize and wield it. What woful havoc does the celestial weapon make ere it falls from the awkward grasp of the drunken giant!

And yet some of the Popelings, who rail at a song or a dance, will expound to you from Holy Scripture how man may have property in man. They are strict disciplinarians with gay young girls, but they are too "conservative" to make any "general rule" that might "embarrass" such brethren as are afflicted with biped chattels. They take Arctic views of the pleasures of life, but "Southside views" of our peculiar institutions. They will have no compromise with sin, but they are ready with Philemon and Onesimus, lest we should seditiously slight any compromise of the Constitution. They will preach against the practice of visiting the theatre, but for the practice of making men work for nothing and selling babies! Your ponderous Doctor of Divinity will lash worldly amusements, while he surrounds with a guard of Greek and Hebrew texts the auction-block which exposes the octoroon maiden to the gaze of Legree. The American Tract Society issues millions of pages; but it deliberately refuses to print one word against the accursed slave trade! Shame upon the blind guides who strain at gnats, and apologize for iniquities which flout the Heavens!

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 28, 1860.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

THE INDEPENDENT AGAINST DR. CHEEVER.

"A man's foes shall be they of his own household."—JESUS CHRIST.

THE hostility of *The Independent* to Dr. Cheever was exhibited, immediately before his departure for Great Britain, in an editorial article which, though abounding in professions of regard for him personally, was deliberately intended to turn away from him the sympathies of his Christian brethren on the other side of the Atlantic, and to defeat his hopes of procuring from them the pecuniary aid which he and his friends believe is desirable, if not absolutely necessary, to carry them successfully through their struggle in behalf of a Free Pulpit and an Anti-Slavery Church in this corrupt city, where the popular religion is so degenerate that it offers no effectual resistance even to the revival of the foreign slave trade. The apology for this assault upon one of its own "Special Contributors" was found in an extract of a letter from "a merchant in Glasgow," asking to be informed "if Dr. Cheever's Church was really in such a destitute state that a begging box had to be sent around England and Scotland to get funds to sustain it." There is good reason to believe that the interrogatory thus set forth as a pretext for striking at Dr. Cheever at the very moment when he was on the point of leaving the country, and when the cares and excitements incident to preparation for a foreign voyage left him neither time nor opportunity for adequate self-defence, was prompted, indirectly at least, by enemies of Dr. Cheever in this country—perhaps by the very writer who parades it as an excuse for a cowardly assault upon a distinguished member of his own "household of faith." It cannot be supposed that "an Abolitionist" in Glasgow, "of the strongest school," would be ready to suspect that Dr. Cheever and his friends were seeking to raise money upon false pretences, if his mind had not been poisoned by misrepresentations from some quarter; and we have good reason to believe that at least one of the editors of *The Independent* has sought, through private channels, to awaken in Great Britain the very sentiment of distrust and hostility toward Dr. Cheever which its correspondent reveals as existing in his own mind.

The Independent's answer to its Glasgow correspondent has been fitly characterized by Dr Cheever himself (see his reply to Mr. Gilbert's farewell address, in behalf of the Church of the Puritans, published by us last week) as "a singular ebullition of ill-feeling and false and injurious remark," and as "a compound of bitterness and falsehood." These are strong words, but, having been at pains to inform ourselves respecting the questions at issue, and having observed the course of *The Independent* from the beginning, we are constrained to say that they do not exceed the truth. Indeed we lack words to express our sense of the baseness of that paper, as exhibited in the article under review, and in the circumstances attending its publication. It is nothing less, in fact, than a deliberate, though insidious, attempt to convince the Orthodox Churches and ministers of Great Britain that Dr. Cheever and his friends are *asking for money upon false pretences*. And while this purpose is palpable upon the very face of the article, the writer has the effrontery to offer a tribute of praise to Dr. Cheever for his fidelity in "preaching against the great sin of our land," and to advise his friends in England and Scotland to "express their zeal for anti-slavery in the form of a direct testimonial" to him! Very considerate, to be sure, after warning the Orthodox Churches of Great Britain against Dr. Cheever as about to solicit their aid upon fraudulent grounds, to recommend them to put money in his private purse, as a testimonial to him "as a man"! If anything could add to the matchless impudence of such a recommendation, from such a source, surely it would be this sentence following from the same pen: "Of course it is without his (Dr. Cheever's) knowledge that we make a suggestion which his modesty would refuse"!! "Art thou in health, my brother?" affectionately inquired Joab while thrusting his sword into the heart of Amasa; and Judas, when he would betray the Son of God to his murderers, said, "Hail, Master, and kissed him." The Christian Abolitionists of Great Britain will doubtless appreciate the friendly advice of *The Independent*.

The baseness of *The Independent* in this whole matter is revealed in its assumption to speak as an unprejudiced observer, and as a candid and honest journalist, while, in reality, it is lending itself with a will to the partizan service of Dr. Cheever's enemies. The version of the difficulties in the Church of the Puritans which it puts forth, with an affectation of judicial candor not unworthy of a disciple of Ignatius Loyola, it knows to be the partizan version of those who are seeking to drive Dr. Cheever from his pulpit. It knows that Dr. Cheever and his friends, embracing a very large majority of the Church and Society of the Puritans, regard its story as a tissue of misrepresentation and falsehood. We do not deny the right of that paper to take which-ever side it may choose in this controversy, but we do object to its attempt to mask its hostility to Dr. Cheever by a pretence of judicial fairness as between him and his enemies, and by simulating the voice and attitude of a friend. It does not become the man who, when the enemies of Dr. Cheever in the Board of Trustees of the Church of the Puritans, as formerly constituted, denounced the application for foreign aid to sustain an anti-slavery pulpit, expressed his exultation by exclaiming, "Thank God, Dr. Cheever is floored at last," or words to the same effect, to offer himself now as the unprejudiced and non-partizan counsellor, in this matter, of British Abolitionists. The attempt displays an obtuseness of the moral sense, and a want of manly sensibility and honor that would be lamentable in anybody, and which, in a man professing to be a minister of the gospel and having control of a religious journal, is calculated to provoke the application of the severest epithets known to the English tongue.

It is neither our province nor our purpose to answer in detail *The Independent's* "compound of bitterness and falsehood"; but some of its points demand notice from a paper set, as this is, for the defence of the anti-slavery cause and the protection of its true-hearted friends. If Dr. Cheever were on the ground to defend himself, we should still feel called upon, for the cause's sake, to lift up our voice in his behalf; how much more, in his absence, is it our duty to vindicate so faithful and devoted a champion of the cause we serve against assaults so unjust and malign?

1. The pretence of *The Independent* that the "present distractions" in the Church of the Puritans "have no connection whatever with the subject of slavery," is evidence either of gross ignorance on its part or an equally gross recklessness of assertion. Having listened to nearly all the recent discussions in the Society and given careful attention to the statements on all sides, we are prepared to affirm, of our own knowledge, that the "distractions" alluded to, so far from relating to "personal grounds and side issues," are all connected with the slavery question. They all turn upon the single issue, whether Dr. Cheever shall be sustained in the pulpit on Union Square, or be starved out, or compelled to resign his place to some minister who, while professing to be anti-slavery, will not preach on the subject in such a way as essentially to disturb the feelings and prejudices of pro-slavery merchants, or rebuke the indifference or open complicity with slavery of the neighboring Churches and Pulpits. The secret of this sort of anti-slavery preaching is well understood by Dr. Bacon of New Haven and Dr. Thompson of New York, the two principal editors of *The Independent*, in whose ears the "fire and hammer of God's Word," as proclaimed from the pulpit on Union Square, make an exceedingly unpleasant noise. It is true that some of Dr. Cheever's sincere friends did, at first, doubt the necessity and expediency of sending abroad for aid; but when his enemies made an issue before the Society and the Church on that question, the whole matter was sifted to the bottom, in a discussion protracted through seven or eight evenings, and resulting in the complete vindication of those who originated the plan. It was not only affirmed but proved, in the course of that discussion, that there had been a plot to starve out Dr. Cheever, to get the Church and Society into pecuniary embarrassments, and then plead those embarrassments as a proof of his unpopularity and of the necessity that he should resign the pulpit to another. It was a knowledge of this artfully-laid plot that led a few of Dr. Cheever's more intimate friends to make a private application for aid in England and Scotland; and we do not hesitate to say, after a careful investigation of the facts, that it was their sagacity which defeated the plot in question, by opening the eyes of some too trusting friends, and bringing into hearty accord all those who really desired and were determined that the Doctor should be sustained. The discussion which his enemies begun in the hope of defeating him upon what they called a "side issue," ensured their own discomfiture by compelling them to reveal their real object. There is now no division, either in the Church or Society, except that between the great majority, who are heartily united in support of the pastor, and a small, factious, and constantly diminishing minority, who wish to drive him from the pulpit. Dr. Cheever has gone abroad with the hearty sympathy and support of all but a fraction of his congregation, Society and Church; and his orthodox brethren on the other side of the water may rest assured that any contributions that they may make in response to his appeals will be sacredly devoted to the support of a faithful but imperilled anti-slavery pulpit in New York. The "expensive litigation" to which *The Independent* refers, if fully explained to Dr. Cheever's British friends, so far from offering any inducement for withholding their aid, could not fail to be regarded by them as a convincing proof of the unscrupulous and malignant character of the opposition waged against him, and of his need of sympathy and support. That litigation, moreover, is, we believe, on its very last legs, the main question having been already decided. The baseness of *The Independent's* intimation, that the money to be collected by Dr. Cheever is likely to be "used to pay lawyer's fees," is too palpable to need exposure.

2. *The Independent* is particularly anxious to convince Orthodox Abolitionists in England and Scotland that Dr. Cheever is not by any means a preëminent example among American ministers of fidelity in preaching against slavery. Oh, no! he is quite an ordinary product and representative of Christian anti-slavery sentiment in the American Church! Read *The Independent's* language:

"Dr. Cheever's tone of anti-slavery sentiment will be found as clear, strong, high and full as any ever uttered in the land of Wilberforce and Cowper. Yet Dr. Cheever himself is only a *product* and a *representative* of the genuine Christian anti-slavery sentiment in the United States. He was not an originator of that sentiment, and he has made no discovery of principles in advance of those laid down by the Phelpses, the Leavitts, the Tappans, who were its pioneers and early confessors. His manner is his own; his modes of action and expression are his own; individuality in these respects is the prerogative of genius—and, often, as in his case, must assert itself against jealousy and opposition. But original and forcible as Dr. Cheever is in modes of expression, yet when words are carefully defined, and earnestness of rhetoric and vehemence of denunciation give place to the naked philosophical statement of principles, Dr. Cheever does not go one whit beyond Dr. Hopkins and the second Edwards, and the great body of the Congregational ministry and Churches, in asserting the absolute sinfulness of holding human beings as chattels, and the unmitigated wickedness of the whole system of American slavery. We have searched his writings in vain for any new *principle* upon this subject. New forms of expression and illustration he has, new interpretations and applications of Scripture—some vigorous and impressive, some forced and doubtful—but he has made no advance in the discovery of fundamental principles touching the sinfulness of slavery. Other men, some of whom were before him in the distinct and earnest enunciation of these same principles, and who have had their share of public abuse for this fidelity, now maintain undisturbed possession of their pulpits, with the freest utterance of God's truth against the iniquity of the doctrine of property in man, and against the whole system of American slavery and its abettors.

"When terms are defined with philosophical precision, and the rubbish of mere logomachy is swept away, we find no principle in Dr. Cheever's writings which is not held and preached with equal fidelity by hundreds of Congregational pastors."

And then, after quoting the statement of the Glasgow *Examiner*, that Dr. Cheever's persecutions originated in the fact that he had denounced slavery unequivocally AS A SIN, *The Independent* proceeds:

"We ask *The Glasgow Examiner* to publish the following action: 'Resolved, That *the holding of human beings as property is an immorality, the renunciation of which ought to be made a condition of membership in the Christian Church, and that this SIN is one against which the law of God and the gospel of Christ ought to be proclaimed, in preaching, persistently, until the iniquity be overthrown.*' This resolution was passed at a full meeting of the General Association of the *State* of New York, held in the Broadway Tabernacle Church in this city, in September last. The resolution, in the above shape, was presented by the pastor of that Church, and was adopted without a dissenting voice. This is no new doctrine in the Congregational Churches of New York and New England.

"It is high time that our English brethren understood that the above resolution expresses the principles and feelings of multitudes of American Christians on the subject of slavery; and that ministers can and do preach that doctrine in New York without any trouble. Personal or local reasons may exist in Dr. Cheever's Church for his difficulty in maintaining his position; but since it is the avowed position of the body of Congregational ministers in this State, his clear and earnest advocacy of this doctrine may serve to enlighten the ignorance and to tone down the arrogance of that class of British philanthropists who feel it to be their vocation to *hector* their American brethren upon this subject."

The very "deceivableness of unrighteousness" is in the above paragraphs; indeed, they are saturated, through and through, with jesuitical duplicity. The difference between Dr. Cheever and the class of ministers represented by *The Independent* to be equally faithful with him in preaching against slavery is as great as the difference between fire and water. It is a difference, moreover, both of principle and practice, and is illustrated by the history and terms of the very resolution which *The Independent*, with such an air of triumph, parades as evidence of the anti-slavery soundness of the New York (State) Congregational Association. Dr. Cheever believes and unequivocally declares that *slaveholding* is a sin, and he is for applying the doctrine to the expulsion of slaveholders from the Church. Accordingly, at the last meeting of the New York Association, he introduced the following resolution:

"Resolved, That slaveholding is an immorality, the renunciation of which ought to be made a condition of membership in the Christian Church, and that this sin is one against which the law of God and the gospel of Christ ought to be proclaimed, in preaching, persistently, until the iniquity be overthrown."

There is not the slightest reason, in the history and practice of Congregational Associations, for believing that the subject of slavery would have been brought forward for action at all, but for the fidelity of Dr. Cheever in introducing this resolution. But for him, the question would no doubt have been entirely ignored, or overridden as a small matter, as it was in all the more recent meetings of the Congregational bodies of New England, and as it is, systematically, in nearly all the ecclesiastical assemblies in the land. Dr. Cheever's resolution put the leaders of the New York Association in a dilemma. To pass the resolution, and thereby declare unequivocally that slaveholding was a sin, would be to condemn their own principle (or want of principle) and practice; to vote it squarely down would expose them to imputations, both at home and abroad, which they were most anxious to avoid; and so it was referred to a committee, to be tinkered into a shape in which, while it might *appear* to those not familiar with the jugglery of ecclesiastical bodies to be a hearty denunciation of slavery, it should, after all, involve only an abstraction, and leave untouched and undisturbed the consciences of a large class of "evangelically pious slaveholders," who deny the justice of the definition of slavery which describes it as the holding of man as property, and claim that the institution, as illustrated in *their* practice, is quite patriarchal and beneficent, and, in itself, no more an offence against morality than the marriage or parental relation; that their claim of property in their slaves is only such, substantially, as the Northern employer has in the labor of those whom he hires, or as the parent has in the services of his child, and does not necessarily involve the infringement of any rights which an inferior and subject class are qualified to exercise in a manner consistent with their own good and the welfare of the community. This is the last covert of slavery, to which it flies when hard pressed by the irrefragible logic of the Abolitionists; and just here the tricksters of *The Independent* and their fraternity always interpose to cover its retreat—to shield from condemnation, in fact, the very class of slaveholders whose example, as men of reputed piety, does more than all things else to shield the system in its mortal extremity and reconcile the conscience of the civilized world to its continuance. Thus, in the very case under consideration, when Dr. Cheever would speed an arrow from the quiver of God's Word directly at the sin of *slaveholding*, your Thompsons, Daggetts and Buddingtons (who, while hob-nobbing with pious slaveholders and apologists for slavery at home, and indulging their hatred of Abolitionists in a hundred mean ways, are yet most anxious to escape the reputation of being pro-slavery among their Orthodox brethren in England and Scotland), make haste to set up their target so as to cover the sin from reprobation. The Committee having failed to set the target just right, that "Artful Dodger," the pastor of the Tabernacle Church and manager-in-chief of *The Independent*, moved such amendments as brought the resolution into the shape in which it was finally adopted. What next? Why, the same Dr. Thompson, with an effrontery positively inimitable, cites in *The Independent* that very resolution as a proof of his own spontaneous zeal in the anti-slavery cause, and to convince Abolitionists on the other side of the Atlantic that Dr. Cheever is by no means preëminent for hostility to slavery—that he only stands where the whole New York Association and "the great body of Congregational ministers and Churches" stand! The difference between him and them is, that whereas he preaches against slavery in such a way as to arouse the hostility of slaveholders and their apologists, impelling them to burn him in effigy and denounce him as a fanatic and an incendiary, *they* are able, by their greater skill and prudence, to do it "without any trouble" whatever. "WITHOUT ANY TROUBLE!" What better evidence do we need than the admission, involved in these words, that the anti-slavery preaching of such men as Dr. Thompson, if of any value whatever, is not such by any means as the present crisis in our country requires? To preach earnestly and effectively against slavery in this great commercial Capital of the land, at the present day, "without any trouble," is as impossible as it was for Jesus of Nazareth to rebuke the Scribes and Pharisees of Judea without exciting their wrathful hostility, or as it was for the Apostles to confront the pagan civilization of their day by the proclamation of Christianity in such a way as to endanger neither their lives nor their popularity, nor create any unpleasant excitement. Dr. Cheever's anti-slavery is bold, earnest, aggressive. He does not attempt, like Dr. Thompson and others, to satisfy his conscience by a merely technical and formal testimony against slavery on a Thanksgiving or Fast day, when even pro-slavery cotton-merchants are willing to indulge their pastors in a little harmless anti-slavery rhetoric, merely for the purpose of keeping the anti-slavery members of their congregations quiet; but he sets in array against it the whole artillery of God's Word, on the Sabbath day, and faithfully applies the principles of Christianity, as related to this iniquity, to every department of society, and especially to the American Church and Ministry. This he does persistently, and with the avowed purpose of stimulating his hearers to aggressive efforts against slavery. His blows are felt, too, by the supporters of slavery, who accredit his fidelity by the seal of their malignant denunciation and hostility.

The radical difference between Dr. Cheever and the pretenders to anti-slavery represented by *The Independent* finds another and a very significant illustration in the history of the conflict in the American Tract Society. Dr. Cheever and those agreeing with him were for demanding of that Society the publication of tracts denouncing slaveholding, unequivocally, as a sin, precisely as it had long denounced gambling, intemperance, Sabbath-breaking and profanity. But the pretenders said this was sheer ultraism and fanatic

ATHEISM TAUGHT FROM THE PULPIT.

We reproduce this week, in its appropriate place, a long extract from a memorable discourse, preached in this city in 1850, by the Nestor of the New York Pulpit, Rev. GARDINER SPRING, D.D., and designed to reconcile the reluctant conscience of the North to that most inhuman act of modern legislation, the Fugitive Slave law, and the other equally infamous measures associated therewith. We have not sought by typographic display to bring into bolder relief the infidel sentiments of the venerable and venerated representative of the American Church; they are exhibited with such clearness, in his deliberate and unimpassioned sentences, that no special marks of emphasis are necessary to impress them on the mind of the reader. The morality of the discourse is that of the political cabal, not that of the New Testament; its logic, the inspiration not of heaven but of the pit; its spirit, not Christian but Atheistic. Its leading doctrines, briefly stated, are these:

1. Slavery—the holding of men as chattels—is not a sin, but a practice allowed of God, sanctioned in the Scriptures, and perfectly compatible with Christianity.

2. That Onesimus was the chattel of Philemon; that Paul sent him back, as such, to his master; and that God converted him and caused the case to be recorded in the Scriptures, "to enforce the lesson that Christianity is *nicely delicate (!) in refraining from all interference with the RIGHTS of others*," and to "hand down the truth, that however much it (Christianity) may meliorate the condition of the slave, it *does not interfere with*, BUT DISTINCTLY RECOGNIZES THE RIGHTS OF THE MASTER."

3. That the North, "*in the name of common honesty*" (!) is "RELIGIOUSLY BOUND," by a Constitutional compact, without which the independence of the country could not have been established, to seize and return to the hell of slavery the fugitive slave who seeks an asylum on her soil; and this, no matter from what indignities and cruelties such fugitive may have fled, what sufferings he may have endured in his flight, or what ties may be broken by his reenslavement.

4. That our fathers, when they made this compact, "DID JUST WHAT, IN THE SIGHT OF GOD, THEY OUGHT TO HAVE DONE," and that "WE DO WELL TO MAINTAIN IT INTACT AND UNSULLIED." We cannot refuse to do this without making ourselves "covenant-breakers," and placing ourselves, according to the Scriptures, "*in the same category with the* BOLDEST TRANSGRESSORS *and the* MOST MISCHIEVOUS MEN."

5. That when Northern politicians at Washington, yielding to the demands and trembling at the threats of the slaveholders, consented to the enactment of the Fugitive Slave law and its kindred measures, "SOUND WISDOM AND DISCRETION, AND SWEET AND HEAVENLY CHARITY, THAT GUARDIAN ANGEL OF OUR UNION, WAS HOVERING, THOUGH SOMETIMES WITH FLUTTERING WINGS, OVER OUR HONORED CAPITOL;" while "GOD PROSPERED THE RIGHT."

6. That "the North is not the place for fugitive slaves," who are "*prima facie* BAD," who "*corrupt our population*," "*overload our prisons*," and "*are a nuisance to our almshouses*," and "who *had better be at home* [i. e. IN SLAVERY], *where they are better employed and better governed*." "Nor is it," he says, "among the least of the *benefits* of the Fugitive Slave law, *that they are so rapidly disappearing from the midst of us*." This, be it remembered, was said, when hundreds of wretched fugitives from slavery, who had taken up their abode at the North, were fleeing in terror to the dominions of the British Queen, sometimes leaving behind them wives and children and property, to escape the fangs of human blood-hounds, commissioned by the Executive of the United States, and cheered on in their hellish work by the popular pulpit and press. In thus betraying humanity, Dr. Spring crucified the Son of God afresh, and put Him to an open shame; for hath He not said, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto *one of the least* of these my brethren, YE HAVE DONE IT UNTO ME"?

7. That "*it would be a sin at once to set the slaves at liberty.*" "*Could I*," says Dr. Spring, "*liberate all the slaves in these States by a prayer*, I COULD NOT OFFER THAT PRAYER IN LOVE TO THE SLAVE." It is "a sickly sympathy and an ill-judged philanthropy" to give freedom to slaves! To gain a proper conception of the wickedness of such sentiments, and the infidelity revealed in them, listen to the commands of God, recorded in the volume which Dr. Spring professes to revere as his infallible rule of faith and practice: "Break every yoke, let the oppressed go free." "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

—Dr. Spring has now just completed a ministry of fifty years in this city. No other minister here has so commanding an influence. In the sermon from which we have quoted he expressed the current sentiments and feelings of the great majority of evangelical Churches; he therefore sacrificed neither his ecclesiastical, social or moral position in uttering them. If he had expressed a doubt of the truth of any doctrine of theology laid down in the standards of the Presbyterian Church, no matter how strong might have been the evidence of his sincerity, he would have lost his pulpit and his clerical standing; but as he has *only* preached practical Atheism in the name of Christ, and prostituted the Bible, with all its sacred associations, to sustain the great crowning iniquity of the age, men calling themselves anti-slavery and professing to hate the Fugitive Slave law would think it a great breach of charity not to honor him as a true minister of the gospel! *The Independent*, for example, never loses an opportunity to present him before the world as a model teacher and pastor. Dr. Cheever, by his fidelity in preaching *against* slavery, has incurred the deadly hostility of that paper, and it is now laboring, in a sneaking, underhand way, to drive him from his pulpit; but Dr. Spring, who preaches in *favor* of slavery and the Fugitive Slave law, encounters not its opposition. Our orthodox friends in Great Britain are requested to take note of this.

Is it any wonder, we ask, that in a city where religion has been thus prostituted for thirty years to the defence of slavery, there should no longer be any barrier in the conscience of the people to the revival of the foreign slave trade? Is it any marvel that men, taught from the pulpit that it is no sin to make slaves of children born on our own soil, or to hurl back into the hell of slavery those who have fled therefrom, should come at length to the conclusion that it is no offence against Christianity to send to Africa for slaves, and that the laws forbidding the practice are fruits of the prejudice and fanaticism of a former generation? We unhesitatingly lay at the door of the American Church and Ministry the responsibility for the revival of the foreign trade in "slaves and souls of men." Their systematic resistance of the anti-slavery movement for more than a quarter of a century; their indifference and hard-heartedness in view of the wrongs and sufferings of the slaves; their asseverations, constantly repeated, that slavery is no sin, but a practice sanctioned of God and warranted by the Scriptures; their defence of pious (!) slaveholders as men worthy of all honor in the Church; their incessant denunciations of Abolitionists as ultraists and fanatics; and their proscription of ministers and laymen who dared to rebuke them for their complicity with slavery, have worked out their legitimate results in the formation of a public opinion which, if it does not openly sanction the slave trade, is not seriously shocked by its atrocities, nor inclined to adopt any vigorous measures of resistance thereto. The American Tract Society, after systematically and fraudulently blotting from its pages every line that condemned slavery, has neither the courage nor the will to lend its influence to resist the revival of the traffic in slaves.

The friends of a pure Christianity in this country, as they contemplate the attitude of the popular pulpits toward slavery, and observe that, under their teaching, assent to a creed and an easy conformity to external rites is regarded as better evidence of faith in Christ than a life however anxiously conformed to His teachings and overflowing with His spirit, and as they find the mere clatter of ecclesiastical machinery accepted by the multitude as evidence enough that the Church is fanned by the wings of the Holy Ghost, are irresistibly reminded of the stinging lines in which COLERIDGE described the priestly parasites of England in his day:

> "The sweet words
> Of Christian promise—*words that even yet*
> *Might stem destruction, were they wisely preached*—
> Are muttered o'er by men whose tones proclaim
> How flat and wearisome they feel their trade."

Alas! how many of the pulpits of America, professing to speak in the name of Christ, and claiming our reverence as exponents of the highest morality, "mutter the sweet words of Christian promise" in tones which proclaim them the vassals of Trade and Commerce, the pliant supporters of a religion which enthrones Oppression and scoffs at the Golden Rule as the maxim of a Utopean dreamer and fanatic!

As the Scribes and Pharisees, when they could in no other way resist the power of His words, denounced Jesus as a madman and a blasphemer, and excited against him the prejudices and the hatred of the community, so, in our day, a time-serving Pulpit, when its guilty complicity with slavery is exposed by Abolitionists, denounces them as "infidels," and seeks to overwhelm them with public reproach and hatred. These slanders have deceived thousands in this and foreign lands, but their power is now greatly diminished. The Anti-Slavery Movement was the fruit of a pure Christianity, and it has been conducted from the beginning in a Christian spirit. In proof of this we fearlessly appeal to the files of its newspapers, and the pages of its books, reports and tracts. Its arguments have been Christian arguments, its appeals Christian appeals; and the Church, in resisting them, has rejected the first principles of Christianity itself and flouted the morality of the New Testament as fanaticism and folly. Thousands hitherto blinded are now coming to the light, and the men whose fidelity to this cause, "in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation," has exposed them to popular execration, will ere long be acknowledged as the men called of God and commissioned to proclaim the gospel of freedom and salvation to this guilty land.

THE FOURTH OF JULY AT THE GRAVE OF JOHN BROWN.

We have looked in vain, hitherto, for a report of the celebration of the Fourth of July at North Elba. If such a report has appeared in any paper, it has not fallen under our observation. We are able now, however, from statements made to us by Mr. Thaddeus Hyatt and Col. W. F. M. Arny, to satisfy, in some degree, the interest and the curiosity of our readers.

An audience of from one thousand to twelve hundred people, mostly from the immediate neighborhood, assembled on the occasion. Rev. HENRY WARNER, of Keesville, was appointed to preside, and R. J. HINTON, late of Kansas, acted as Secretary. Rev. LUTHER LEE, of Ohio, formerly editor of *The Wesleyan*, at Syracuse, delivered an elaborate and impressive address, in which he justified the course and eulogized the character of the noble martyr of Freedom whose grave hallows the spot where he spoke. There was singing appropriate to the occasion, and brief addresses were delivered by THADDEUS HYATT, JOHN BROWN, Jr., of Ohio, OWEN BROWN, W. F. M. ARNY and others. Some six or seven hundred people partook of a dinner served on tables in the open air.

The following preamble and resolutions were unanimously and heartily adopted by the large assembly:

Whereas, this being the Eighty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration of American Independence from the tyrannical control of the King and Government of Great Britain; and whereas, the principles enunciated in that immortal declaration assert the sacred right of each individual member of the human family to the possession of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"; and whereas there are now held in the most degrading bondage, in one-half of this boasted land of freedom, four millions of people who are deprived of all the essential requisites which constitute individual, civil and religious liberty; and whereas it would seem as if this nation, in the fulness of its intemperate pride, glories in the shame which renders the land infamous, branding with the name of "FELON" those who, believing in the Golden Rule and the Declaration of Independence, dared to put into *deeds* the *words* of Jesus, and in their lives practise what Lexington and Bunker Hill taught the race, finding no place for the noblest of men but the prison and the scaffold; therefore

Resolved, That we, here assembled, standing around the mound which covers all that was mortal of our late friend, neighbor and fellow-citizen, JOHN BROWN, of immortal memory, with the glorious events of his long life of self-sacrifice and martyr heroism fresh in our minds, and remembering, as he did, "those in bonds as bound with them," do reaffirm our unalterable faith in the principles of Universal Freedom, and reiterate our determination, by all and every constitutional means, to aid the slave to become free, leaving to each individual conscience the sole right of determining in what manner and at what time these *principles* shall be translated into *acts*.

Resolved, That we, the men and women of Essex County here assembled, extend a hearty welcome and cordial greeting to our noble fellow-citizen, THADDEUS HYATT, who was recently incarcerated in a loathsome prison at Washington, because he would not permit tyranny to be consummated in his person by submission to an unconstitutional usurpation by the United States Senate—which deserves and will receive, in the persons of the recreant Senators who allowed the iniquity to be consummated, the strongest condemnation from the people of the free States; and for the noble spirit with which our friend met the issue we return him our heartfelt thanks, and assure him of the gratitude both of the present and the future.

Resolved, That we extend a warm and cordial greeting to those of "the immortal twenty-one" who followed JOHN BROWN to Virginia, and who, having survived that scene—the Bunker Hill of the African slave—are with us to-day. It is fitting that in this presence, and on this anniversary, our welcome should be earnest and our thanks hearty and warm to those who, by a spirit of heroic sacrifice, have renewed our faith in humanity and our trust in the eternal justice of God.

MORE COMMENDATION.

When, at the beginning of the present volume, we gave a hint to the journals with which we exchange that they might "help the cause along" by commending THE STANDARD, if they could honestly do so, to the kind regards of their readers respectively, we hardly expected that so many of them would give a favorable response. Believing that our readers would all be glad to see the friendly notices thus elicited, and hoping that some of them might be stimulated thereby to a higher appreciation of the value of the paper to the cause, and to special efforts to extend its circulation, we have not hesitated to copy such of them as we have seen. We now give place to the following:

THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.—We should have noticed, before this, the appearance of THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD in a new and beautiful dress. Although not agreeing, altogether, with the views of THE STANDARD upon the slavery question, we admire its ability and its outspoken frankness. Its literary department, too, is admirably conducted; and, taken as a whole, we find few of our exchanges more interesting or valuable than THE STANDARD.—*Lawrence (Kansas) Republican.*

THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.—The art of making newspapers is one that the American people have brought near to perfection, and if any one wishes to possess a model American newspaper, we advise them to subscribe for the above-named journal. It is printed upon the best paper used in the trade, with clear, new type, and with a style of execution superior to that of any periodical that comes to our hands. While it is a literary paper of the first order, there is nothing in it that is not serious and practical. A severe taste presides over its miscellaneous department, and whatever poetry, story, sketch or item one finds within its columns may be read with the assurance that it is something rare and good. The European correspondence gives a perfect history of the prominent political, moral and social movements of the Old World, while able writers from Boston, Philadelphia, Washington and Cincinnati report every week the important events transpiring in those centres. Mr. Edmund Quincy, the witty author of the Byles letters in *The Tribune*, has been a regular correspondent of THE STANDARD for many years, and his racy and satirical descriptions of men and things never fail to arrest and reward the reader's attention. During the last year Mrs. Harriet Martineau has written regularly, mostly upon the great political questions agitating the Governments of Europe. One may always expect in THE STANDARD a full and accurate report of all of Wendell Phillips's masterly eloquence, as well as the best occasional speeches of other leading orators and reformers.

The leading excellence of THE STANDARD, however, is the fidelity with which it has advocated the cause of emancipation in this country; and while its leanings are towards a form of action different from that of the Republican party, it is liberal and catholic in its spirit, and appreciates and welcomes the great services to the cause of freedom of such political leaders as Seward, Sumner, Lovejoy, Adams and Washburn. The men clustered around THE STANDARD are the priests of the inner temple of freedom, whose duty it is to keep the fires burning bright and pure upon her altars. They inspire the hearts of the people with those noble principles which it is the mission of the Republican party to embody in institutions and laws.—*Machias (Me.) Republican.*

MR. SUMNER'S INTERPRETATION OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.—Advocates of what is called "the anti-slavery construction of the Constitution" have often, in private, claimed Mr. Sumner as occupying their ground, and that he was only waiting for what he might deem the favorable moment to make a public avowal of his faith. His speech, lately delivered in this city, shows how mistaken all such statements and anticipations were. In that speech he avows as his own the exact construction of the Constitution which the American Anti-Slavery Society has held from its formation in 1833 to the present time—the construction of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Jay and Marshall, and of leading men of all parties, South as well as North, from 1788 down to a very recent period—the construction which places the North under a political obligation to return fugitive slaves, put down slave insurrections, &c., and denies to the Federal Government all power to interfere with the system in the States. Mr. Sumner distinctly acknowledges that the people of the North have "no political responsibility" and therefore "no political duty" in regard to slavery in the slave States. "Lament it," he says, "wherever it exists, we must, and surround its victims with our prayers; but our action, while inspired by these sentiments, must rest within the landmarks of the law and the Constitution." This is sufficiently explicit.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S HEART.—Senator Sumner, in his memorable speech recently delivered in this city, affirms that "the heart of Abraham Lincoln is large enough to embrace the broad Republic and *all* its people." It strikes us that his way of "embracing" the fugitive slave, if we may judge from his own recorded words, is not quite consistent with the large-heartedness thus claimed for him. Mr. Sumner furthermore says: "Electing these (Lincoln and Hamlin), we shall put the National Government, at least in its Executive Department, openly and actively on the side of freedom." Does Mr. Sumner mean to be understood to affirm that, in his opinion, Mr. Lincoln, if elected President, will not enforce the Fugitive Slave law? Or, are we to understand that the enforcement of that law is not, in his opinion, inconsistent with the character of a President professing to be "openly and actively on the side of freedom"?

See the notice, in another column, of a celebration of the Anniversary of West India Emancipation, to be held at Kennett Square, Pa., on Saturday, August 4th.

From our Boston Correspondent.

NO. CCLXXIII.

THE ARGUMENT.—The Correspondent commendeth the fortnight as newsable—His opinion of precedencies—And his description of Senator Douglas's Reception—He standeth up for the street and for himself—His vision of the Giant—He treateth of Degrees—And of the claims to the same—Also of Mr. Everett's painfully illiterate estate—His opinion as to the genesis of Letters—He lamenteth over Mr. Everett's shortcomings in former times—But commendeth Mr. Saltonstall—He quoteth Lady Mary Wortley and Mr. Pillsbury—He encourageth the Slaveholders and hearteneth them as to Mr. Everett—President Felton's Inauguration, &c., &c., &c.

BOSTON, July 23, 1860.

I HAVE so much to say this week that I really hardly know how to begin. The last fortnight has been exemplary for its *newsability*, and if the same amount of matter could only be spread over a larger tract of time, I should not have to bewail the dogged determination of Nothing to keep happening, so often as I now do. But, as Presidents of the United States, of course, have the precedence in their own dominions, so, I suppose, Presidential candidates must have the first place, in the lack of one actually elected. First, then, we have had Senator Douglas on show last week. He was first put through his motions on the balcony of the Revere House, by a Mr. Oliver Stevens—an eminent person I never heard of before, but whom I take to be the son of the landlord of that famous tavern. He was informed that Daniel Webster had addressed the public from that very balcony, and had reached it by means of the identical street before him. Singular as these statements must have struck him, and especially the last, he was too well bred to question them, but, on the contrary, seemed to be profoundly affected by the same. An impertinent Republican paper, indeed, the next morning informed him of several other persons who had addressed the people from the same spot, and also that several other persons had made use of the street in front of the House. In fact, I have done it myself, having been, indeed, one of the very crowd that was exhorted by the great Defender to Conquer our Prejudices—which I forthwith went away and did. But Mr. Stevens forgot to mention this, and thereby deprived Mr. Douglas of a new emotion.

I cannot conscientiously say that I was present at this last ovation, as I happened to be providentially out of town. But I enjoyed the vision of the Little Giant the next day, being Commencement, at Cambridge, when I at once picked him out, as more vulgar criminals are selected, out of the crowd that surrounded him. There was an absurd rumor that he was to have the degree of Doctor of Laws bestowed upon him; and I was assured that some Republicans had done the little they could to induce the authorities to do so. What possible motive they could have had is beyond my philosophy to comprehend. It would have been an insult to the great mass of the people of the State—Breckenridge Democrats and Bell-Everett men as well as Republicans—on the part of the degree-decreeing Dons, to have bestowed one on a man who enjoys only their detestation, for various reasons, it is true, but hearty and sincere. Indeed, I imagine, the disgust of the two first classes of politicians would have been much greater than of the last—certainly so, if this story were true. Should he be elected President, and should he then attend a Commencement, a degree could not be withheld. If even the Old Public Functionary who now disgraces the Presidency had happened to be there this year, he would have received the honors of the University, as a matter of course. But there was no more reason why Mr. Douglas should than Mr. Pratt, the great American Traveller, or any other candidate in the field. He made a very neat little speech at the Hall dinner, on which occasion, you will be grieved to hear, the Union was not saved so much as once! And this, though Mr. Everett spoke, too! The next day, however, Mr. Douglas was good enough to tell us, on Bunker Hill, what the object of the Revolutionary War was, to wit: that they might wallop every man his own nigger in all peace and tranquillity.

And, next to Mr. Douglas, Mr. Everett certainly comes in order of precedence—though he is not a Presidential candidate—the more shame to the Old Gentlemen at Baltimore. We have learnt strange things about him lately. We had always thought he knew how to write. But, it seems, notwithstanding the evidence of the *Ledger* papers to the contrary, that he can do nothing of the kind; at least, that he has lost the capacity for writing letters. It is, perhaps, a pity that he did not gain this loss twenty years ago or more, for he did know how to write letters then, but wrote them to such purpose as to upset his party in this State and almost to lose his nomination to England. Heaven may have first taught letters

> "——for some wretch's aid,
> Some banished lover or some captive maid";

but the devil himself, it is very clear, must have had his finger in the invention of the letters of political candidates. So, possibly, it may be lucky that this disability has fallen upon him. The fact has come to light through a letter from Mr. Leverett Saltonstall of this city, who seems to be the party charged with the delicate and important duty of answering Mr. Everett's letters. Mr. Taylor, of Eutaw, Alabama, it seems, had written to Mr. Everett, enclosing certain slips from newspapers referring to certain slips of his tongue or pen, in days long gone by, and desiring to know what it all meant. Now, it is unluckily true that Mr. Everett's record is not as clean as a Union Constitutional Party could desire. He once wrote a letter on receiving from the American Anti-Slavery Society a copy of Thome and Kimball's tour in the West Indies, a letter which might be called, for him, warmly anti-slavery in its tone, and expressing the opinion that the West Indian Experiment had proved the possibility and policy of Immediate Emancipation. Another letter to the Hon. N. B. Borden was of the same dark complexion; and he signed the Anti-Slavery Resolutions of the Legislature of Massachusetts, as Governor—which, I have heard say, were draughted by Mr. Garrison himself—which, at any rate, represented the extremest anti-slavery position of that day. It is no wonder that the Southern members of the Constitutional Union party should be staggered by such revelations as to the character of the candidate they are asked to support for the Second Officer. Though Old Gentlemen, they are not quite in their dotage.

I will do Mr. Saltonstall the justice to say that he makes the best of a bad case. He could not deny the facts, but he glides over them with the ease of a practised skater. Indeed, he does not state what the objectionable opinions were. He pleads boldly the Statute of Limitations. It is true Mr. Everett did do these naughty things; but then it was more than twenty years ago. Since then, too, he had plunged into the Lethe of the Compromises of 1850, which waters of hell were supposed sufficient to wash away all taint of anti-slavery sin before committed. Then Mr. Clay had vehemently opposed the motion to reject Mr. Everett's nomination to England, founded on these crimes of his; and Mr. Choate tore his hair to such purpose in his behalf that even William C. Preston was almost persuaded to be a Christian and to forgive him. To be sure, he didn't, but he was afterwards heard to say that he was more sorry for that one than any vote he had ever given. Having received the mercy of the slaveholders on that occasion, his conduct ever since has been such as to show that he deserved it. No objection has ever been made to him since, at any subsequent nomination, even with King and Calhoun in the Senate, so that he may be regarded now as having taken out a clean bill of health. And, if there were any question of it, the quarantine he has passed for the last ten years is enough to guarantee his being a safe and merchantable article for Southern consumption.

Mr. Saltonstall's extenuation of the anti-slavery peccadilloes of Mr. Everett's younger days is substantially the same which Lady Mary Wortley Montague says the married ladies of the days of George I., when the holy estate of matrimony had fallen into great contempt, used to urge in their excuse, that "it was done a great while ago, and they were very young when they did it!" Mr. Saltonstall, if it had been proper to treat a Southern inquisitor with levity, might have applied to him the story of Mr. Pillsbury's minister, who, when he was rebuking a parishioner for profane swearing, received this reply: "Why, parson, it is very true that I swear a good deal, and you pray a good deal; but then, you know, we don't either of us mean anything by it!" So he might have said, "Mr. Taylor, it is very true Mr. Everett has talked a good deal of Anti-Slavery in his time, as you have talked a good deal of Disunion in yours; *but, you know, neither of you meant anything by it!*" If Mr. Taylor and the slaveholders are not satisfied with this certificate of Mr. Everett's entire recovery from that infantile disease of which they stand in such dread, they are indeed most absurdly unreasonable. He never had it badly at all, and then only by inoculation, and not in the natural way. His symptoms were never anything like as bad as those of Caleb Cushing and Benjamin F. Hallett. We do not think there is any more danger of its breaking out afresh in his case than in that of these robuster patients, whose case is so unquestionably perfect. He is perfectly safe, they may be assured; and, if it would be any satisfaction to them, I have no doubt you would be ready to go bail, in any moderate sum, that he will never do them the smallest harm, Vice-Presidentially or otherwise.

My enthusiasm in the cause of these eminent candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of these United States has so carried me away, that I have left myself no room in which to speak of the inauguration of Professor Felton—"heartiest of Greek professors," as Dickens calls him, in his American Notes—as President of the University at Cambridge. It took place on the day after Commencement, which had been yielded to the authorities for this purpose by the Alumni, to whom it by custom belonged this third year. This caused some dissatisfaction, and, at the business meeting of the Association, there was an attempt made to pass a vote of censure on the officers for their action. But the majority thought it more civil as well as sensible to concur with a good grace in the disposition made of their day, and the celebration went off in a good spirit and with entire success. Governor Banks performed his part of the ceremonies with great grace and dignity. Dr. Holmes, the Autocrat of the Breakfast Table, was the Autocrat of the Dinner Table on this occasion, and did his part well and wittily. The attendance was very large, although the rain was furious in the morning. The weather cleared up finely, however, by the time the exercises were over, which we will accept as a happy omen of the incoming administration of Academical affairs.

D. Y.

PERSONAL.

A new volume of Poems, by J. G. Whittier, will shortly be issued from the press of Ticknor and Fields, Boston.

The honorary degree of Master of Arts has been almost simultaneously conferred upon John Greenleaf Whittier by the Quaker College at Haverford, Pa., and Harvard University at Cambridge, Mass.

Rev. James Martineau, brother of Mrs. Harriet Martineau, and the most eminent Unitarian theologian in the world, will, says *The London Inquirer*, sail for Boston in August. The Reverend Professor will visit Canada and travel through the Northern States, preaching in New York, Boston, and other places, and will return at the commencement of the Manchester College session, October 16th.

The following lines, addressed "To Italy," are from the pen of WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR.

> "Who in this latter day shall dare arise
> To pierce the cloud that overhangs thy skies,
> Fair, trustful Italy?
> Too long beguiled
> By one who treats thee like a pouting child,
> Break off the painted handle of his whip,
> And spring no more to kiss that frothy lip:
> Alone on Garibaldi place thy trust.
> There shalt thou find a guardian brave and just."

Among the objections urged against Gen. Lane, the anti-Douglas candidate for Vice-President, by the citizens of Dubuque, Iowa, are the following:

First—He spells God with a little g.
Second—He spells barracks, bar-rax.
Third—He spells dirt with two t's.
Fourth—When in Mexico, he dated a letter "Very Croose."

The executors of the will of Theodore Parker have notified the city government of Boston that Mrs. Parker waives her right, under the terms of the will, to retain his library in her possession, and that the whole library, with the exception of the specific bequests, amounting to about 17,000 volumes, will be ready for transfer to the public library on the first of December next.

Garibaldi, according to a correspondent of *L'Eco d'Italia*, writing from Milan, June 27th, contemplates a feat which will throw all his previous exploits in the shade. This is no less than a sudden invasion of the States of the Church by sea, and a march upon Rome. It is thought that, in such an event, the Pope will have to seek refuge in Austria.

The Milwaukee *Free Democrat* states that the keepers of Sherman M. Booth, imprisoned for violation of the Fugitive Slave law, have taken away his paper, ink, pen, pencil and table, and stripped his room completely, and it is reported that they have been building a cell in the basement of the prison, where they design to imprison him. Some of the guard declare that Mr. Booth could not live a week in that damp, gloomy dungeon.

Our readers have not forgotten that Capt. Avis, the jailor at Charlestown, Va., incurred the censure of the more violent and vindictive portion of the people of Virginia by his kindness to JOHN BROWN and his companions. The Charlestown *Free Press* says:

"A few weeks ago, we stated that Levy Court had appropriated some two hundred dollars compensation for expenses incurred by Capt. John Avis, jailor of Jefferson County, in providing for the jail during the imprisonment of the Brown party. But a few members afterward (the Court having been in session several days) rescinded the order. The Judge, during his May term, certified to a small sum for the jailor, but this also was refused to be paid by the State Auditor."

The colored people of New Haven have honored themselves by adopting, at a public meeting, the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the fearless and uncompromising position of the Hon. Charles Sumner, Senator in the Congress of the United States from the State of Massachusetts, by his bold denunciation of the barbarism of American Slavery, merits the approbation of every lover of impartial freedom in this nation, and the warmest gratitude of the colored population of the United States and throughout the world.

Resolved, That our heartfelt thanks are due to the honorable Senator for his able defence of the manhood, citizenship and equality of the colored man in this country, and we pledge to him our warm appreciation of his noble efforts in behalf of universal freedom; and we will ever pray for the long continuance of his health and life, as the heaven-ordained defender and champion of the cause of holy freedom.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS. 1860.

THIS pamphlet contains the Minutes, Testimonies and Correspondence of the Meeting; also its Exposition of Sentiments, and an Address on "The Method of Reform," delivered in the Meeting by Rev. A. D. MAYO of Albany. This last is a production of marked power and excellence, being characterized by comprehensive views of truth, great earnestness in the cause of Christian reform, in all its branches, and an eminently catholic spirit. The cover of the pamphlet, instead of being sent out a blank, is covered by several beautiful poems, in harmony with the object of the publication.

Persons wishing to procure a copy of this pamphlet may find it at the Anti-Slavery offices in New York, Philadelphia and Boston; price 15 cents. It will be sent by mail, post paid, for six 3 cent stamps sent to Oliver Johnson, 5 Beekman street, New York.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TENTH NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION, held at the Cooper Institute, New York City, May 10th and 11th, 1860.

THIS is a handsome pamphlet, and one in which the majority of our readers will naturally feel a deep interest. The Convention whose proceedings it embodies has been grossly misrepresented by the public press, including *The Tribune*, which seems inclined of late to treat reformers of every class with special rudeness and injustice. We have here the addresses, as reported by Mr. J. M. W. Yerrinton, of Boston (than whom there is no more skilful reporter in the United States), the speeches of Mrs. Rose, Mrs. J. Elizabeth Jones, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, Mary Grew, Rev. Beriah Green, Rev. Samuel Longfellow, Hon. E. D. Culver, Wendell Phillips and Wm. Lloyd Garrison. These are all fresh, living utterances of the truth, as apprehended by noble minds, devoted to the highest welfare of humanity. The price of the pamphlet is 25 cents, and it may be had at the Anti-Slavery offices in New York and Boston.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for August offers the usual variety, as follows: The Carnival of the Romantic; A Legend of Maryland; Prince Adeb; Eleusinia; Victor and Jacqueline; Midsummer; Tobacco; Shakspeare done into French; The Poet's Singing; A Journey in Sicily; The Professor's Story; Anno Domini, 1860; Darwin on the Origin of Species; Reviews and Literary Notices.

The poetry is far superior to that of the previous number—quite worthy, to say the truth, of the pages of this magazine. The Professor's Story deepens in interest as it proceeds. But what shall we say of the article on Tobacco, the object of which is to justify the common use of the article as a natural and healthful stimulant? As a specimen of its logic, take the following: After presenting statistics showing the great quantity of the weed annually consumed, the writer draws these conclusions:

"1st. That an article so widely used must possess some peculiar quality producing *a desirable effect*.

"2d. That an article so widely used cannot produce *any marked deleterious effect*."

Very profound and very conclusive, certainly! But suppose the writer had given us a dozen pages of statistics showing the wide prevalence of lying, might not the same inferences have been as legitimately drawn as to the "desirable effects" of the practice? We are sorry to see *The Atlantic* lending its pages for the defence of a habit which the most enlightened physiologists regard as deleterious in its effects upon the human system, and which the moralist cannot contemplate without alarm.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE comes to us weekly with its freight of good things for our mental delectation. No. 843 opens with a sketch of "Sicily as it was and is," from *The Westminster Review*. It also contains "A Trip to the Himalayahs (very pleasant reading for the warm weather), and a variety of other matter in prose and verse. Boston: Littell, Son & Co.

Summary.

UNANIMITY PRESERVED.—At the late meeting of the American Anti-Tobacco Society, the officers and corporation were given as follows: President, Rev. George Trask; Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer and Auditor, Rev. George Trask; Honorary Body, Corporate and Incorporate, Rev. George Trask. No danger of dissension, rivalry and schism in that Society.

Three slaves—a man forty years of age, and two children, fifteen and sixteen years old—the property of Mr. Charles Anderson of St. Louis, Mo., took quiet leave of the family and premises last Sunday under pretext of going to church. They have not been heard from since. The wife and mother, with two other children, remain behind. The missing property is valued at $3,500.

A very interesting *conversazione* has been held in Langham place, in connection with the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women. Lord Shaftesbury presided, and papers were read, showing the suitability of law-engrossing, printing and book-keeping as occupations for women. An admirable collection of women's work in these and other trades and professions was also exhibited.

Mr. Douglas, in his Philadelphia speech, said that this was the "first time in his life that he had been placed in a position where he had to look on and *see* a fight without taking a hand in it." The Cincinnati *Commercial* tears the Senator has forgotten the little Sumner affair in the Senate Chamber, a few years since. He "looked on and saw a fight" there without manifesting the slightest desire to take a hand in it.

ABOLITION BIBLE.—Quite an excitement prevailed lately at Henderson, Texas, owing to the sale there by a book agent of several copies of the Cottage Bible. This edition of the Bible was prepared for the press by an Abolitionist. It has copious notes whenever these can be made to bear on the slavery question, and they evidently are not lifted for the South. The agent was required to take back all the copies he had sold, and leave for the North at once.

THE FEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE of Philadelphia will commence its eleventh annual session on the 17th of October next. Its opportunities and requirements are fully equal to those of any other medical institution in the country. Two of the professorships are held by women. Whatever a woman can do well, for herself and others, she should surely be allowed to do; and the question whether women can make efficient and successful physicians is one that seems likely to find an answer. If they succeed in the effort, their brethren will bid them welcome to a share in the toils and discouragements of one of the best abused and worst paid of the learned professions of the day.

PROPERTY IN MAN.—*The New York Times* publishes a luminous paper from one of the surviving sons of Alexander Hamilton, upon the leading political topics of the day, which discusses the provisions of the Federal Constitution upon the subject of slavery in a spirit of candor and with the temper and ability of a statesman. He shows conclusively that Judge Taney's dogma, that the Constitution recognizes the idea of property in man, is utterly false. There is nothing whatever in the Constitution to warrant it; on the contrary, the authorities cited by Mr. Hamilton show conclusively that the framers of the Constitution took especial care to keep so odious an idea out of that instrument.

AN HEIR-LOOM.—The Hartford *Courant* of May 24th says: An umbrella, at least fifty years old, in perfect repair, and worth a dozen of our modern umbrellas, was left in our office some time ago, by a gentleman who inherited it from his sister, who carried it for fifty years, and dying at the age of eighty-two, left it as an heir-loom to her brother. The old gentleman, forgetting that he had been in our counting-room, searched everywhere that he could think of, for his lost relic, in vain. He was delighted the other day, on dropping in to look over our exchanges, to see his old friend the umbrella, quietly awaiting him.

THE LIBEL SUIT AGAINST THE BOSTON COURIER.—*The Boston Transcript* of July 14th says: We understand that J. A. Andrew, Esq. and A. G. Browne are the counsel for Hon. John P. Hale in his suit for libel against *The Boston Courier*. It is averred that *The Courier* not only copied an article from *The New York Times* in regard to the New Hampshire Senator's course upon the Edwards claim, but placed a heading of its own to the strictures of the paper from which it copied, as follows: "Is John P. Hale an honest man?" Allusion was also made in another part of *The Courier* to the comments of *The Times*. An opportunity was afforded *The Courier* to retract its statements, if so disposed, but as no retraction appeared, the writ was served, claiming damages for $10,000, and attaching the property of that paper as security for the amount claimed.

THE MAN WHO SKINNED NAT. TURNER.—*The Petersburgh (Va.) Express* of the 17th has the following paragraph: "Mr. William Mallory, an old citizen of Southampton County died a few days ago, immediately after returning from a visit to this city. Mr. Mallory was 80 years of age, and figured in the suppression of the Southampton massacre. He was the identical 'Buck Mallory' who skinned Nat. Turner, the leader of the rebellion, and the hide having been tanned, portions of it are now extant in the 'curiosity shops' of many residents in and about Southampton. While in the store of Mr. John R. Davis, in this city, a week or two since, he remarked that 'he had skinned Nat. Turner, and he would have skinned old John Brown if he could only have had the opportunity.' The old man returned to his home, worn down with age, never to leave it again."

HAMLIN A MULATTO.—The Republican candidate for Vice-President is a dark-skinned man. Robert Barnwell Rhett, the South Carolina fire-eater, thinks his election will be degrading to the South. In a speech lately delivered at Charleston, Mr. Rhett said: "Hamlin is what we call a mulatto. He has black blood in him, and let me tell you that it is his nomination that has a remarkable peculiarity. The Northern people take that man in consequence of that peculiarity. I see it stated in the papers that he is a mulatto. I can only say that some state it as a reason why that man is taken up, is in consequence of the spite and malignity manifested towards him. But they design to put over the South a man who has negro blood in his veins. They put a renegade Southerner on one side for President, for Lincoln is a native Kentuckian, and they put a man of colored blood on the other side of the ticket for Vice-President of the United States. The question is, will you submit to such a nomination, if effectual?"

OCTOROONS NOT NEGROES.—*The Alexandria (Va.) Gazette

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI SLAVERY STANDARD.

LIBERTY.

An eagle o'er our country flies,
Bearing a banner, soiled and torn;
As it unrolls beneath the skies,
"Look up, my countrymen, and mourn.
The name of Liberty, that graced
Its ample folds, is half effaced.

Our fathers, when they bled and died
For *universal* liberty,
Dreamed not their children e'er would side
With tyranny and slavery:
Relight we then Oppression's fires,
Ignoble sons of noble sires?

Her children come from Europe's soil:
From dungeons' depths and war's alarms;
From wasting want and tearless toil,
To find repose in Freedom's arms.
"Go back, go back," we cry in shame,
"Our liberty is but a name."

In Austria and in Italy,
The papal power drags them down;
Old England *tells* them they are free,
But they are crushed by court and crown:
France struggles at the welcome sound,
But, like Prometheus, is bound.

And every people 'neath the sun,
Could they express their dear desires,
Would rise at once, and rush as one,
To light their own at Freedom's fires;
The cry would ring from sea to sea,
Forever—"Death or Liberty!"

The planets in their spheres are free;
The sun, the vanquisher of Night;
The stars that sink beneath the sea
Of his unfathomed light;
The winds that fan the brow of Day,
And kiss his dewy tears away.

It seems so strange that thinking men
Their princely birthright should despise;
That Eden should be lost again,
And man shut out of Paradise.
Freedom has lost, Oppression won,
E'en at the grave of Washington.

Be then in earnest while we may,
And gird our shining armor on;
What matters if we die to-day?
Our deeds die not when we are gone.
"To side with truth" is God's delight,
If Wrong is strong, Might is not Right. E. S. F.

North Shore, Staten Island, July, 1860.

ANOTHER CHAPLET FOR THEODORE PARKER.

REMARKS OF CHARLES D. B. MILLS.

[The following remarks of CHARLES D. B. MILLS, of Syracuse, N. Y., were delivered in the Yearly Meeting of Friends of Human Progress, recently held at Waterloo, N. Y. They have been communicated for publication in THE STANDARD.]

"God's stars and silence taught thee, as his angels only can,
That the one sole sacred thing beneath the cope of heaven is man."

NATURE is much, but man is more; nature cheers and enlivens, human presence lifts and inspires. Of all the events that enter into and enrich our experience, none is so signal as the advent to us of a person. There is no music like the human voice, no radiance of sun or star like the beam of a human eye. Humanity is properly the divine incarnation, the articulate Word. In character shines the resplendence of the Infinite.

Maternal tenderness and love, how it touches the heart of childhood, and writes itself indelibly in all after recollection! Whatever else may pass away or fall to oblivion, this vision never fades. Years after her departure—the form long since perished away, the voice gone to unbroken silence—the son remembers his mother; serene and beckoning she shines down upon him, a quenchless star in the firmament of his thought.

A like significance dwells in all social relation; in paternal, fraternal, conjugal as well. Each is symbolic and everlasting, a gleam of the infinite excellence. All things dying go into apotheosis; the past is embalmed in memory, and the old scenes become ideal and poetic to the thought. The departed friend is translated to the skies and becomes fixed in the constellations. Warmly, reverently we cherish these recollections, as the one priceless possession of our lives.

The effect is much heightened when a great soul appears, one in whom our humanity seems to have reached its culmination; in whom the great qualities of character, the quenchless love of a mother, the wise strength of a father, the sympathy and loyalty of a brother, and these not partial or special, but catholic and universal, blend gloriously in one personality. There is no such miracle in nature as this. All hearts are touched, all eyes held with amazement and admiration. Where this one looks is light, where his hand points is guidance. All life is illumined by his presence; where he is, the hardest tasks melt into easy pastime and delight. Attachments, friendships and loves of the strongest, fasten upon him; his words are golden, his very person becomes sacred. His departure from earth darkens the sky, making the day heavy with sadness and sorrow; the world seems lonelier that he is no longer in it. Hallowed memories gather about the name; each word and minutest incident is treasured up, and carried down in tradition and book, a sacred legacy to the generations. It is hardly strange that Jesus should have been worshipped as very God, and his breaking of bread been permanently solemnized in the Church by formal sacrament. Such worship has easy occasion in the veneration instinctively felt by mankind for right royal greatness.

Two names, I think, have in these late months taken their departure, that stand in vital catholic relations to the race. One is of the hero that gave himself to the slave, and, brave and steadfast to the last, accepted the death of the cross with a sublimity of grace never before excelled. John Brown's great loyalty to the slave, and, through the slave, to human nature, his high magnanimity, self-sacrifice, and unbroken fortitude endear him to all true hearts evermore. His life is a perpetual inspiration, his death a divine triumph. He has disarmed the gallows of its terror, and martyrdom is easier now that he has trodden so cheerily the rugged path.

And Theodore Parker has spoken to mankind in his lofty, fruitful genius, his wide, warm-gushing philanthropies, his clear, pointed expositions of Truth, Duty, Privilege; his brave, victorious life, and serene and trustful while so early death. Such tireless activities, such clear conception, comprehensive grasp, and large, gifted utterance have rarely been equalled. He also has wrought for broad religious reformation, and in a line with the great prophets of the race. His memorials are enduring, beyond all noisy clamors of suffrage, all the fitful mutations of opinion. His monument rests in human hearts, and must abide while these remain.

Baptisms of water fall empty and pass away; the baptisms of the spirit never cease. A high deed, some signal magnanimity, some great transcendent endurance, quickens the blood, and arms afresh with strength. The scenes of that imprisonment and execution at Charlestown, such self-sacrifice, self-possession and repose, shall speak to full many a heart drooping and ready to fall, and the thought of the hero's cross and the hero's triumph shall make all trials light, all sinews strong. That circumstance of the kiss implanted by the martyr's lips upon the slave child's cheek, precious tribute to the worth of priceless human personality, shall be poetic, mayhap mythic, in the future centuries, told in every tongue, and sung of unnumbered bards.

And I think that in instances not few, some sick, sorrowing sufferer, long prostrate, anxious, disappointed and desponding, shall call him to mind, who, arrested in the midst of his active career, broken off suddenly from every cherished plan of life, driven sternly forth from clime to clime in quest of self-preservation, cherishing those left behind with the warmth of a lover's love, yearning for recovery and return, now lifted with hope and now thrown back by disappointment, pierced with pains and wasted of disease, yet knew not "one hour of sadness," but rested to the end, if not in hope, yet in ever-deepening repose and trust—and remembering this, shall cast aside in shame all quick impatience, and cheerily stand up to bide whatever issue.

These baptisms of strength are never spent, the virtue never gone out from them. Millions may be bathed and quickened in the healing element, and it remains good for many millions more. It is unimpaired and all-effective to the end of time.

In that good time coming when the immortal scriptures shall be gathered up, when the sentences of wisdom dropped from inspired lips of every tongue and every age shall be reverently collected into the one great Bible of Truth to mankind, fit bread of life for the nations, words from this seer also shall find place in the sacred volume. And as age after age, age after age, the generations of mankind, slow moving, wend their way on towards the goal of final destination, and, wearied and athirst, pause betimes to drink fresh draughts of inspiration, calling to mind the illustrious leaders that have gone before, great captains of the race in their journeyings for the land of promise, Confucius, Socrates, Zoroaster, Jesus and their like, they shall remember with those our Parker, and, bearing all the names aloft as magic symbols, sacred enchantments, potent to charm and lift the soul, shall march on with quickened step up to Conquest, Freedom, Blessedness and ever-enlarging Life.

A LETTER FROM FRANCES D. GAGE.

From The Liberator.

IT was my good fortune, while on my tour to the West Indies, to meet with and spend a few days in the same boarding-house with Mr. Parker, and his excellent wife, and Miss Stephenson.

Mr. Parker was then thought by his friends to be much improved in health, and he was so full of life and energy, making every hour so available to himself and others, that it was almost impossible for a stranger to feel that he was an invalid.

It was his habit to rise by sunrise, and mount a little island pony, and canter away four or five miles over the beautiful roads that wind there—the sugar estates, or up the mountain sides—always returning loaded with treasures from field or wood, for analysis or inspection; leaves of trees, flowers, shrubs, shells, plants, fruits, seeds, or insects; all which were closely examined, and placed, if thought worthy, in his herbarium or cabinet, to be sent back to Boston. His hardest work seemed to be to rest, and all his leisure appeared to be taken upon compulsion. Reading, writing, walking and talking to those about him, taking observations and gathering facts—he was the busiest of us all. How could we feel that such an one was standing beside his own grave?

The great problem of Human Liberty, and the capability of the colored man to take care of himself and supply his own wants, being solved on this beautiful island, interested Mr. Parker deeply. Every new fact giving evidence of progress in these people, so lately slaves, was to him a source of great joy. I shall never forget with what enthusiasm he spoke of those things, and of the good men and women engaged in the work of ameliorating the physical, and elevating the moral and social condition of those who, eleven years before, were slaves to the hardest of masters.

At times, he seemed exalted above life and all its cares and pains, and looking with his far-seeing eye back to our own country with the burning hope warming his heart that a time might come when the down-trodden race of our "South" might be emancipated, and a true humanity take them by the hand, and give them help and hope for the future with the glorious boon of liberty. At such times, his scathing rebukes of such men, high in place and power, who, in the time of need, faint and fail, who compromise, or

"Bend the cringing knee,
That thrift may follow fawning,"

was terrible. Brave and unflinching himself, where principles were at stake, he could not pardon or forgive those who he felt had knowingly sold their birthright of truth and power for a mess of pottage. Why should he? Whenever he was able to converse, the company gathered round him as one inspired, and listened to his great thoughts, which fell like precious pearls from his lips. In these conversations, we had numerous opportunities to notice his gentleness and tenderness of heart.

If some one told a tale of a poor slave's fate under the hand of a hard master, or of some generous deed or noble self-denial, Mr. Parker would weep as easily as the most sensitive woman. One day, he attempted to tell a story of awful oppression. Suddenly his voice ceased. I looked up from my sewing; his handkerchief had sought his eyes; he rose abruptly, and, almost sobbing, suddenly left the room. When he returned, he said, apologetically, with a smile, "A sick man or a fool should never attempt to tell an affecting story"—and, taking up a new theme, went on cheerily with his discourse.

Visiting the home of a Dane, who lived upon one of the mountains, we found there a volume of Theodore Parker's sermons, which the Dane and his beautiful and accomplished wife both greatly admired. We told them that Mr. P. was at the other end of the island. Their astonishment was only equalled by their pleasure, and they resolved to ride fifteen miles the next day to see and talk with him. Not (as they said) because they believed in all that to him seemed truth, but because of his great power and boldness of thought. They wished to see the man who had given them so many new ideas.

It was astonishing to see how people hung upon his words, and devoured his thoughts. But why do I write all this? Because, in this part of the world, I find no one to talk to who can sympathize with me as a personal acquaintance of Mr. Parker. None of my household home had the privilege of knowing him.

It was not Mr. Parker's theology that I so much admired—it was Mr. P. himself—the man who saw humanity above all creeds and doctrines, and the immutable love of justice and mercy above all human enactment—a man true to himself and his own high convictions of his duty to man and God.

It was at the close of one of the magnificent tropical days of April, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when we bade farewell to the party, standing at the extremity of a narrow board pier, hurrying over the sea, in the town of Frederickstad, Santa Cruz. We five stood there together, bound by the ties of common interest in the great reforms of the day, more than by those of country. In a few minutes, two of us would be separated from all that had interest in us or our thought, and the three would also be alone. While we waited, great words of hope and encouragement fell from lips now silent in this world. There was not a cloud over all the sky, and the setting sun tinged with scarlet and gold the dancing waves beyond, and the green mountain sides above, and coral sands below, gave every hue of the rainbow to the still waters near the shore. Mr. Parker spoke of the beauty all around us,

"Where every prospect pleases,
And only man is vile,"

with emphasis and emotion. As I gave him my hand to say farewell, I could not suppress my tears. "God bless you!" said Mr. P. "If *we live*, we shall meet again—either here or there"—and as he spoke the "there," he pointed aloft to the bright glowing sky, and his eyes, just relieved of their great tears, looked brightly upward. He stepped into our little boat, and two strong men pulled away to the little brig which was to convey us to St. Thomas, and from its deck we soon waved our handkerchief in a last "*Adios*" to the loiterers upon the shore, and they, giving us one more signal of farewell, turned back to the village. We shall see him no more among us, but

"The daily lessons that he taught,
Ever with love and mercy fraught,
And the great life-work which he wrought,
Can never die."

FRANCES D. GAGE.

Carbondale, Jackson Co., Illinois.

REMARKS OF GEORGE W. CURTIS.

[On Sunday, July 18th, G. W. CURTIS, Esq., delivered, in the Music Hall, Boston, his lecture on "Modern Infidelity," and in conclusion thereof paid the following felicitous tribute to Mr. Parker.]

As I end this discourse, I am of course thinking of what you are thinking of, the man who stood in this place, and whose whole life was an act of faith in the doctrine of private judgment. Since Roger Williams preached in the old Colony of Massachusetts Bay that the government had no right to inquire whether or not a citizen believed in God, since William Ellery Channing petitioned for the unconditional pardon of a man who had been sentenced to prison in the city of Boston for denying the existence of God—upon the simple ground, in each case, not of sympathy with the opinion, but of the absolute right of religious liberty—no man in the world has more bravely and proudly vindicated that right than he who has made this hall precious in your memories forever. The Colony of Massachusetts Bay sent Roger Williams out into the wild forests, among wild men and beasts; the city of Boston indignantly protested against Dr. Channing's petition, and the Governor of Massachusetts refused its prayer; and how, in the same city, the cloud of contumely which hovered over the head of Theodore Parker would have harmed and hidden him, if his heaven-tipped virtue had not dissipated it, and passed its lightning harmless into the ground, you know better than I can say.

When I remember, under the exterior of the farmer's son, those soft graces that made nobility; when I reflect how his days, and powers, and opportunities were never wasted, but only too profusely spent; how the hearts of young men in the land, looking for light, turned to him, as flowers to the sun; how he strengthened moral purpose in this country; how he stimulated honest thought; how he encouraged free speech; how plainly he taught that love to man meant love to him whom the law deprives of all right, equally with him who makes and declares the law; and how he scorned the pliant and brilliant Judases who betray Christ in humanity with a kiss—I do not wonder that his name shone in other lands; and ought we to be surprised that it was obscured at home?

Old Cotton Mather said that Roger Williams had a wind-mill in his head; old Hubbard, of Ipswich, declared he had a fly-blown imagination. So an ecclesiastical body near by prayed the Lord to close the mouth of your minister; and in his good mercy he has closed it; but only as the Arabian fruit closes after the precious seed is dropped.

Theodore Parker was the intellectual child of Channing. Only four years before the South Boston sermon was preached, Dr. Channing had written these words: "As to human favor, I feel more and more that it must be given up. If I know Christianity, it is so at war with the present condition of society that it cannot be spoken or acted out without giving great offence."

Of a robust and gladiatorial nature, how gladly the young hero accepted the great debate with human wrong! He leaped into the lists, and, though his Ephesus was called Boston, the contest was sharp and life-long.

Friends, friends! not the orators of perfumed phrase, not the speakers of adroit avoidance, have consecrated this beautiful hall; but he who taught here that religion is a life, not a ceremony; he whose opulent and vehement mind beat out truth, as with the incessant blows of a trip-hammer, fitting it alike to the sternest and sweetest duties of life; he who preached and lived in this city that eternal truth of God which was before Abraham, and shall outlast the world.

O friend and teacher! O loving heart, large brain, open hand and tireless foot of charity, *Vale, vale*, and farewell!

THE RIVER PATH.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

No bird-song floated down the hill,
The tangled bank below was still;

No rustle from the birchen stem,
No ripple from the water's hem.

The dusk of twilight round us grew,
We felt the falling of the dew;

For, from us, ere the day was done,
The wooded hills shut out the sun.

But on the river's farther side
We saw the hill-tops glorified—

A tender glow, exceeding fair,
A dream of day without its glare.

With us the damp, the chill, the gloom;
With them the sunset's rosy bloom;

While dark, through willowy vistas seen,
The river rolled in shade between.

From out the darkness where we trod
We gazed upon those hills of God,

Whose light seemed not of moon or sun.
We spake not, but our thought was one.

We paused, as if from that bright shore
Beckoned our dear ones gone before;

And stilled our beating hearts to hear
The voices lost to mortal ear!

Sudden our pathway turned from night;
The hills swung open to the light;

Through their green gates the sunshine showed,
A long, slant splendor downward flowed,

Down glade and glen and bank it rolled:
It bridged the shaded stream with gold;

And, borne, on piers of mist, allied
The shadowy with the sunlit side!

"So," prayed we, "when our feet draw near
The river, dark with mortal fear,

And the night cometh, chill with dew,
Oh, Father!—let thy light break through!

So let the hills of doubt divide,
So bridge with faith the sunless tide!

So let the eyes that fail on earth
On thy eternal hills look forth;

And in thy beckoning angels know
The dear ones whom we loved below!"

—*Independent.*

PETER COOPER.

PETER COOPER was born in the city of New York, February 12, 1791. His father was a lieutenant in the Revolutionary War, in which other members of his family acted a prominent part on the side of liberty. In his early boyhood he was employed in the hat manufactory of his father, where he labored assiduously till the age of seventeen, when he was apprenticed to Joseph Wardwell, to learn the trade of coachmaking, in which he became such an adept that, on the expiration of his apprenticeship, his master offered to set him up in business. This, however, he declined, and continued working at his trade as a journeyman, till the breaking out of the war of 1812, when, home manufactures coming suddenly in demand, he abandoned it for the manufacture of patent machines for shearing cloth, which he carried on with success until this business was destroyed by the renewal of importations after the close of the war. He then entered into the manufacture of cabinet-ware, which he subsequently quitted to establish himself as a grocer in the city of New York; but this vocation was out of his sphere, and it was not long before he returned to the manufacturing business, and commenced the manufacture of glue and isinglass, in which he still continues.

While yet a young man, Mr. Cooper became interested in the development of the iron mines of North America; and in 1830 he erected extensive iron works at Canton, near Baltimore, of which he subsequently disposed, and established a rolling and wire mill in the city of New York, where he made the first successful application of anthracite to the puddling of iron. He afterwards removed this establishment to Trenton, N. J., where he erected the largest rolling-mill at that time in the United States for the manufacture of railroad iron, which he has since extended into a large iron mining and working establishment, in the hands of a company of which he is the president. The first locomotive engine used on this continent was built by Mr. Cooper at Baltimore, after his own designs, and worked on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

Mr. Cooper has prominently identified himself with all the important public undertakings of the present century. In the electric telegraph he has been warmly interested from its earliest inception, making liberal investments of both time and money. At present he is President of the North American Telegraph Association, which represents and controls two-thirds of all the lines in the United States; President of the American Telegraph Company; President of the New York, Newfoundland, and London Telegraph Company; and Honorary Director of the Atlantic Telegraph Company. He has served in both branches of the Common Council, where he was one of the most prominent and influential advocates of the construction of the Croton Aqueduct.

But it is chiefly as a philanthropist that Mr. Cooper has won a place in the knowledge and esteem of his fellow-citizens. For many years he has been warmly interested in the cause of education, having been an active member of the Public School Society, and Vice-President at the time of its being merged in the Board of Education, after which he acted as School Commissioner; but feeling there was a want in technological education, which the common schools did not fill, he determined to organize an independent institution which would afford to the working classes practical instruction. This scheme, fostered in the mind of the philanthropic originator for more than forty years, has recently been matured by the erection of the Cooper Institute, at the intersection of the Third and Fourth avenues, between Seventh and Eighth streets, covering the block, at a cost of five hundred thousand dollars, and devoted, by a deed of trust, with all its rents, deeds and profits, to the instruction and elevation of the working classes in the city of New York. Intending principally to instruct and improve morally, mentally and physically, those classes whose occupations deprive them of proper recreation, all the benefits of the noble institution founded by him are free, without any restriction whatever.

How much have education and circumstances, when rightly understood, been found to contribute to the formation of the great lines of difference that mark the characters of the people of various countries! "The great blessings that have fallen to our lot as a people"—thus writes the large-souled Mr. Cooper, in his letter accompanying his trust-bond—"are entrusted to our care for ourselves, for our posterity, and for the encouragement of suffering humanity throughout the world. Feeling this great responsibility, I desire, by all that I can say, and by all that I can do, to awaken in the minds of the rising generation an undying thirst for knowledge and virtue, in order that they may be able, by wise and honorable measures, to preserve the liberties we enjoy. . . . My earnest desire is to make this building and institution contribute, in every way possible, to unite all in one common effort to improve each and every human being, seeing that we are bound up in one common destiny, and by the laws of our being are made dependent for our happiness on the continued acts of kindness we receive from each other."

If it was recently conceded in England that some movement to extend the sphere, and increase the rewards, of female labor has there become indispensable, and that not only great personal suffering, but general injury to the public interests, ensues from the existing deficiency of female employments, we may congratulate America upon her advanced position in regard to this highly interesting subject.

Manifesting his deep interest and sympathy in what deserves to be recognized as the most thorough, if not the first, preparation to do justice to female capacity, and to reward female labor, the noble founder wished also to advance the happiness and better the condition of the female portion of the community, and especially of those who are dependent on honest labor for support. He not only provided especially reserved seats for women in all the courses of lectures on Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and Vocal Music, but he established a special School of Design, Painting and Engraving for females, and desired the trustees (who officiate gratuitously) to appropriate $250 yearly to assist those pupils who may merit and require such aid, by their efforts and sacrifices in the performance of duty to parents, or to those whom Providence has made dependent on them for support. "My reason for this requirement"—thus continues Mr. Cooper—"is not so much to reward as to encourage the exercise of heroic virtues, that often shine in the midst of the greatest suffering and obscurity, without being noticed by the passing throng."

In order to widen also the sphere of female employment, Mr. Cooper provided seven rooms, to be forever devoted to their instruction in those arts or trades which can tend to furnish them suitable occupation. He desired the trustees to appropriate, out of the rents of the building, $1,500 annually toward meeting the expenses of this school. "It is the ardent wish of my heart," he says, "that it may be the means of raising to competence and comfort thousands of those that might otherwise struggle through a life of poverty and suffering."

By preparing respectable females to become teachers of drawing and painting, by enabling them to earn a livelihood by engraving, by providing them with so many resources for an independent, honorable and useful position in society, an incalculable influence is exerted on virtue and morality.

To all this Mr. Cooper adds a special room of the institution for the purpose of holding meetings for the consideration and application of the useful sciences and arts to any of the various purposes calculated to improve and better the condition of the females belonging to the School of Design, Painting and Engraving, which at present numbers 120 pupils.

Among more than 2,000 male and female scholars of the institution, only twelve pay for tuition, and they especially desire to do so.

The present cost of maintaining the school is not less than $3,000 per annum. The result, however, would justify a much larger expenditure, if the trustees had the means at command. Its first annual reception and exhibition, lately held, was a brilliant success. The great reading-room, the spacious gallery above it, commanding the reading-room, and the tiers of studios where the works were displayed, on one side of the gallery, communicating with each other by a convenient corridor—all were thrown open to the visitors, and formed a splendid promenade, ample for the 3,000 persons assembled. The moving, elegantly-dressed masses, in the light of the numerous gas-jets, the works of art, the decorations of the rooms, the presentation of almost the whole scene at one view—all under the inspiration of fine music from Dodworth's band—presented a spectacle which, for beauty and interest, usefulness and a high moral gratification, could not be surpassed.

The anticipations even of those well prepared to expect a large degree of scholarly attainment were far exceeded. The copies from flat surfaces might, for the greater part, easily have been taken for the work of regular, professed artists. Their excellences were not only confined to correct drawing, and a certain general idea of shading, but life, texture, relief, expression and feeling were all admirably imparted. The copies from casts were also surprisingly well executed. The gratifying progress and early proficiency of this department are due to Mr. Const. Herzbergh, its immediate instructor, who is a first-class master, and a most painstaking teacher. The other departments of drawing and engraving on wood, painting in oil and water colors, lithography, etching on stone, painting on china, designing for manufacturing purposes, etc., must be preceded by a knowledge of perspective and free-hand drawing, the foundation of all.

A gratifying success was the reward also of Mr. T. Addison Richards, the excellent director of the whole school, and the instructor in oil painting, and Mr. O'Brien, the capable teacher in engraving. Altogether, the school indicates high talents and commendable application in the pupils. The possession of such efficient teachers may well lead to satisfactory results. The rooms were tastefully decorated, and a perfect mound of superb bouquets at the head of the gallery was a token of affectionate regard and esteem of the scholars to their benefactor. Surrounded with flowers, they had placed in the midst Mr. Cooper's life-like bust, with an appropriate inscription. It was, however, removed by the members of his family before the exhibition took place.

No, certainly Mr. Cooper's bust is not wanted in an institution where every stone rears a monument to its benefactor; where he can be seen daily witnessing in person the result of the munificence of his contributions, in the glory and welfare of that same city which has been the theatre of his struggles.

With a strong will and a resolute purpose, the energetic Cooper has triumphed over all obstacles, and accomplished the most stupendous results. He has reared during his life a memorial witness of his genius and power, by bringing into action a policy which will lead many from poverty and ignorance to wealth and intellectual greatness.—*Life Illustrated.*

THE CAR OF JUGGERNAUT.

IN one of his recent lectures, Mr. Gangooly, the converted Brahmin, corrects some of the popular impressions in regard to the car of Juggernaut. He says:

"This car took its origin from the fact that Chrishna, the god, when a child, lived in the village of Kouka. The king in a neighboring province had a great festival, and invited Crishna to be present, and sent a car to carry him to the festival. To commemorate the fact, the Hindoos carry the image of Crishna on it, to (as they say) give him a good ride. As to the self-sacrifice of the Hindoos, it is not true. The Hindoos believe that if a sinner should give two or three pulls to the ropes connected with the car he will be taken to heaven by a similar car. This false idea induces many of the menial Hindoos to go forward and pull these cars; and often, by their carelessness, they fall under the wheels and are immolated. I once saw four perish in this way, so that their faces were entirely obliterated. When caution is taken, no one is killed. When a heavy car gets in motion it cannot be stopped, being drawn by hosts of horses. The ropes with which the people pull the car are five hundred yards long.

"When young, I wanted to help draw the car. I rode on it, but was afraid to draw it. I thought that heaven would be thus secured; such was my earnestness and love for these idols. It makes me smile when I think of those things. Once it rained and blew very hard, and all the people left the car except myself. I remained, and held the idols from being blown about by the wind, or being beaten down by the rain and wind. The very consciousness of doing something good made me feel cheerful and contented.

"This car is drawn on the first day of the month, and on the eighth day it is drawn back. The latter is a matter of policy; it has no sanction in the Hindoo Scriptures.

"The rich man who dedicates the car entertains freely all the lower castes, by thousands, every day. This is the leading feature of Brahminism, viz., the carrying of alms to the poor. All other ceremonies do not amount to much if this is not done.

"A rich man promised the river Ganges one thousand ripe mangoes. As the servants were bearing the baskets to the river with this fruit (which is the richest fruit in India), a poor man, tired and hungry, came and asked for one of the mangoes. The servants bade him go about his business. He hazarded his life, and took one and ate it. At night, it is said that the river Ganges came to the rich man in human form, claiming the payment of nine hundred and ninety-nine mangoes, saying that he had received but one. In this, Brahminism inculcates a beautiful form of charity. I am sorry to say that it also teaches that if you help a Brahmin, and do not help other castes, you do right."

THE OLD PURITAN TIMES.

THE old reverence for the Sabbath is still retained in the moral districts of our Commonwealth, but there is little in Boston to remind one of the former Puritan habits, as described in the following article:

The Puritan Sabbath in the villages of New England commenced on Saturday afternoon. No labor was performed on the evening which preceded the Lord's day. Early on Sunday morning the blowing of a horn, in some places, announced that the hour of worship was at hand. In other places a flag was hung out of the rude building occupied as a church. At Cambridge a drum was beat in military style; at Salem a bell indicated the opulence of that settlement.

The public religious services usually commenced at nine o'clock in the morning, and occupied from six to eight hours—divided by an intermission of one hour for dinner. The people collected quite punctually, as the law compelled their attendance; and there was a heavy fine for any one that rode too fast to meeting. The sexton called upon the minister and escorted him to church in the same fashion that the sheriff now conducts the judge into our State courts. There were no pews in the church; and the congregation had places assigned them upon the rude benches at the annual town meeting, according to their age, importance and social standing. A person was fined if he occupied the seat of another. Our local histories reveal that pride, envy and jealousy were active passions among the men of olden times; and it was delicate and difficult business to "seat the meeting-house," as it was quaintly called.

Many of the early Churches of New England had two clergymen—one who was called the pastor, the other the teacher. The Sabbath services were as follows: The congregation assembled at an early hour—never later than nine o'clock. After prayer, a chapter from the Bible was read by one of the ministers, and "expounded" at length. In many of the churches, however, the Bible was not read at all, and it took years of agitation to carry that "innovation." A psalm in metre was next sung, which was dictated, line by line, to the congregation; this service was usually performed by one of the deacons. The preacher did not take part in the introductory services. The baptisms, church discipline, and collections always took place in the afternoon. The "long" prayer usually occupied from an hour to an hour and a half; and many of the sermons of this period make from a hundred to a hundred and fifty pages.

There was a contribution every Sunday, preceded by an appeal from one of the deacons. The boxes were not carried round, but the congregation arose and proceeded to the deacon's seat and deposited their offerings. The magistrates and "brief gentlemen" walked up first, the elders next, and then followed the "common people"; this ceremony occupied much time. Besides the money given, persons brought various useful articles and goods as offerings. The collections were distributed by the deacons to the ministers and the poor.

The trials of ecclesiastical offenders at the close of the services often afforded much excitement as well as amusement. For some offences a particular dress was worn, and the "confessions" of the offender were heard with much interest. Oftentimes the public services were continued until after sunset. After the benediction, the ministers passed out of the church, bowing to the people on both sides of the aisle, as they all sat in silence until the clergymen and their families had gone out!

DEEDS OF KINDNESS.

SUPPOSE the little cowslip
Should hang its golden cup,
And say, "I'm such a tiny flower
I'd better not grow up;"
How many a weary traveller
Would miss its fragrant smell!
How many a little child would grieve
To lose it from the dell!

Suppose the glistening dew-drops
Upon the grass should say,
"What can a little dew-drop do?
I'd better roll away;"
The blade on which it rested,
Before the day was done,
Without a drop to moisten it,
Would wither in the sun.

Suppose the little breezes,
Upon a summer's day,
Should think themselves too small to cool
The trav'ller on his way;
Who would not miss the smallest
And softest ones that blow,
And think they made a great mistake
If they were talking so?

How many deeds of kindness
A little child may do,
Although it has so little strength,
And little wisdom too!
It wants a loving spirit
Much more than strength, to prove
How many things a child may do
For others by his love.

WHERE DOES IVORY COME FROM?

As ivory enters so largely into the commerce of the day, either in the crude state in which it is wrested from the huge elephants of Africa and of India or in articles of luxury and use, we have been at some pains to investigate the sources of its supply, the demand for it, and the purposes to which it is mostly applied.

That ivory was at a very early period an article of traffic and adornment, we have only to turn to Sacred Writ, and to the earliest profane poets of antiquity. Solomon's ships came triennially laden with "gold and silver, ivory, and apes and peacocks;" and, "moreover the king made a great throne of ivory, and overlaid it with the best gold." David (in Psalm xlv.) sang of "ivory palaces," and the prophet Ezekiel, speaking of the luxury of Tyre, (xxvii. 6), states that even the galleys had "benches of ivory." Homer tells us of the magnificence of the early and almost barbarous Greek princes, in whose mansions

"The spoils of elephants the roofs inlay."

From Africa, perhaps more than from India, the long tusks were imported that gave to the most splendid monarch of Israel, and to the warrior chiefs of Hellas, their coveted white adornments. May it not be a clue to the voyages of the Tarshishian ships of Solomon that at the present day commerce has taken its old channel down the Nile, and Cairo is once more a mart where "gold and ivory" are to be procured? Until within a few years, the Egyptian pashas made trading up and down the Nile a monopoly; now, Egyptian, French, German and English merchants explore the remote resources of that river, not for the purposes of science, but for those of commerce. In the last report of sales of ivory in London, the head quarters of this traffic, we find that 85,000 (*eighty-five thousand!*) pounds of the ivory sold was "Egyptian"—that is, found its way to civilization through Egypt.

Herodotus distinctly tells us that Africa yielded her tribute of elephants' teeth to the kings of Persia. The Greeks had masterpieces of art composed of gold and ivory, while the grave senators of Rome sat in ivory seats. That Africa was the source whence the ancients of Southern Europe drew their supply, we learn from Pliny the Younger, who says that the vast consumption of ivory for articles of luxury compelled the Romans to seek for it in another hemisphere, "as Africa had ceased to furnish elephants' tusks, except of the smallest kind."

After the overthrow of the Roman empire, the commerce between Europe and Africa was suspended for centuries. At length the enterprise of Portugal—the eldest daughter, the Lusitania, of Rome—opened anew Africa and India. In the meantime the lordly elephant had multiplied in his native forests, and if the long tusks were secured by the natives, they served merely the plebeian purposes of doorposts, or the defences of wooden idols. Battell, a quaint old Englishman, who served in the early Portuguese armies, says that the Africans "had their idols of wood, fashioned like a negro, and at the foot thereof was a great heap of elephants' teeth, containing three or four tons of them." It is a well known fact that the inhabitants of Angola and Congo, when the Portuguese first occupied those coasts, were found to have preserved an immense number of elephants' teeth, the accumulation of centuries. For a long time this ivory was exported in vessels of Portugal to various parts of Europe, and this traffic formed one of the most lucrative branches of the early modern trade with Africa. About the middle of the seventeenth century this store became exhausted, and the sons of Ethiopia were instigated to imitate their ancestors in renewing the battle with the wide-eared, long-tusked *Elephas Africanus*.

To-day the amount of ivory consumed in the workshops of Europe, America and India is immense, and yet, great as it is, the continent of Africa furnishes seven-eighths of all that is worked up into ornaments, toys and crucifixes in France; heathen gods, boxes and fans in India and China; billiard balls, boxes, miniature plates, chessmen, mathematical rules, keys for pianofortes, organs and melodeons, fans, combs, folders, dominoes, and a thousand and one other things, in England, Germany, and the United States.

Portugal was the England of the sixteenth century in more respects than one. For two centuries Portugal held, in the East and on the African coast, the power and influence now in the hands of England. Lisbon, at that time, was the head of the ivory market; now, London is the mart where ivory dealers most do congregate. It sometimes occurs that the Salem and other American merchants engaged in the African trade ship their tusks (or *teeth*, in commercial parlance) to London, after they have brought them from the Zanzibar and Mozambique coast to the United States. In the world's great metropolis there occurs, at regular intervals, one of those sales which furnish the manufacturers with their stock of elephants' teeth.

While we associate ivory and India together, but very little of the former comes from the latter. It is estimated that to supply ivory to the British market, for the last few years, it has required about 1,000,000 lbs. annually; of this quantity, Ceylon—the great elephant park of India—furnishes only 500 or 600 lbs. The ivory which is put down in the printed reports of sales as "Bombay," in nine cases out of ten, is shipped by Mahometan merchants from the East coast of Africa to the large Northwestern commercial emporium of Bombay. We do not mean, however, to assert that no elephants' tusks come from Asia, for occasionally there will be small lots from Ceylon and Sumatra. There is also a large ivory trade between Zanzibar and China *via* Bombay. A great deal of ivory, we may state, by the way, now reaches the United States directly from Africa.

The immense demand for elephants' teeth has of late years increased the supply from all parts of Africa. At the end of the last century the annual average importation into England was only 192,500 lbs.; in 1827 it reached 364,784 lbs., or 6,080 tusks, which would require the death of at least 3,040 male elephants. It is probable that the slaughter is much greater, for the teeth of the female elephant are very small; and Burchell tells us, in his African travels, that he met with some elephant hunters who had shot twelve huge fellows, which, however, altogether produced no more than two hundred pounds of ivory. To produce 1,000,000 lbs. of ivory, the present annual English import, we should require—estimating each tusk at 60 lbs.—the life of 8,333 male elephants. It is said that 4,000 tuskers suffer death every year to supply the United States with combs, knife handles, billiard balls, &c., &c.

A tusk weighing 70 lbs. and upwards is considered by dealers as first class. Cuvier formed a table of the most remarkable tusks of which any account has been given. The largest on record was one which was sold at Amsterdam, which weighed three hundred and fifty pounds. In the late sales at London, the largest of the "Bombay and Zanzibar" was 122 lbs.; of "Angola and Lisbon" 69 lbs.; of "Cape of Good Hope and Natal" 106 lbs.; of "Cape Coast Castle, Lagos," &c., 114 lbs.; of "Gaboon" 91 lbs.; "Egyptian" 114 lbs. But it must not be inferred from this that large tusks are now rare. On the contrary, it is probable that more long and heavy teeth are now brought to market than in any previous century. A short time ago Julius Pratt & Co. cut up, at their establishment in Meriden, Connecticut, a tusk that was nine and a half feet long, eight inches in diameter, and which weighed nearly two hundred pounds. The same firm, in 1851, sent to "The World's Fair," London, the widest, finest, and largest piece of ivory ever sawed out. By wonderful machinery, invented in their own factory, they sawed out (and the process of sawing did the work of polishing at the same time) a strip of ivory forty-one feet long and twelve inches wide. It took the precedence of all the specimens sent in by England, France, or Germany, and received rewarding attention from the Commission. It may be asked, What can be done with such an immense piece of ivory? We reply, that the time has come when this beautiful material can be used for purposes of veneering, and we shall soon, doubtless, see tables, bureaus, writing desks, and other members of the furniture family rendered as resplendent as the throne of Solomon. We believe that it is now contemplated by Steinway & Sons to build a piano whose keys shall not be the only portion from the teeth of the African elephant, but an instrument whose whole surface shall be of burnished virgin ivory. One thing is certain, that any pianoforte manufacturer who should first attempt this will make a sensation by the novelty of the affair, and will doubtless be well rewarded for his labor.

The most costly tusks, or portions of the tusks, are those which are used for billiard balls. What are termed "cut points," of just the right size for billiard balls, from 2⅜ to 2⅝ inches in diameter, brought the highest price (£53) per cut of any ivory offered in the London market at the late sales. Billiard ball making has of late become a very important item of manufacture in this country.

The teeth from the West coast, with the